













# COMMUNISM IN INDIA

SIR CECIL KAYE

WITH  
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS  
from National Archives of India  
(1919—1924)

COMPILED AND EDITED

by

SUBODH ROY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

by

MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

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## INTRODUCTION

It did not take long for the British authorities to realise the character of the Socialist Revolution of 1917 and its influence on the colonies and semi-colonies. The British imperialists realised that the nascent Communist activities were the real danger in the coming years. All possible steps were taken in India, Afghanistan, Persia, Sinkiang (China) to stop its reports and influence from reaching India. British Embassies and Consulates in countries bordering on India became most active centres of conspiracy to overthrow the newly founded proletarian State which was still engaged in civil war and facing intervention from over a dozen imperialist and colonial powers and their lackeys. This is the reason why the number of intelligence reports on this subject is so numerous in the National Archives of India.

Early in 1925, Sir Cecil Kaye, shortly before his retirement from the Directorship of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, began to compile his account of *Communism in India*. Kaye, though he occupied a high post of an important imperial department, was not a man of high academic qualifications. He was more at home in running his department than with his pen. Though he took over a year to compile this small book he ended his account with the delivery of the judgement of the Allahabad High Court in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, on November 10, 1924.

Being a confidential and secret publication Kaye's book has been a rarity. Even after the independence of India it took some two decades for the government to decide to release its only copy to the readers in the National Archives of India. It is the only place where the book can be read in the original print.

In spite of all its shortcomings, tendentiousness, perversion of facts, *Communism in India*, though prepared with the express purpose of suppressing and controverting communist activities, is an important work. It was written by an official of an imperialist government who was its deadliest enemy and little acquainted with the fundamentals of Communism.

The weekly reports and other documents given here are in all cases full and verbatim. They will very much facilitate

the work of writers and workers in this field and shall save them from a lot of trouble and expenditure. This immense material is made available in print for the first time. It forms the major part of the material on the basis of which Kaye compiled his book. It is needless to say that most of the documents here presented originated with the British India Government's Intelligence Department. They cover only one side of the records of this great movement.

The laborious and back-breaking job of sifting and copying this material in long-hand and preparing the press copy of the same has been done by my friend and colleague Subodh Roy of Chittagong Armoury Raid Case. He worked in the National Archives for full two years and has done his work with care and accuracy found in competent professionals.

In order to make the present work more useful and intelligible to the readers bio-bibliographical and other notes on the persons, some incidents, books and journals mentioned in *Communism in India* and the accompanying documents, has been added. The British and Indian Intelligence Bureau in spite of their world wide espionage network and huge expenditure could not be all-knowing. The officials of this department were mostly persons incapable of writing strictly objective reports on all that they and their agents saw and gathered.

*The Comintern and the East*, (in Russian) edited by R.A. Ulyanovsky (Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1969) is a monograph written by a group of Soviet workers under the auspices of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. It is a detailed exposition of the historic activities of the Communist International, which first under the leadership of Lenin, and then, on the basis of his ideas, elaborated basic questions of Communist strategy and tactics on the national-colonial question and rendered ideological and political help to the national liberation struggle against imperialism. This question has been ably dealt with in an article by A. B. Reznikov. The activities of the Comintern in India has been described by O. V. Martyshin. G. Z. Sorokin's article has exposes the lies and fabrications of bourgeois historians about the Comintern. It will be of immense help to those who want to know the truth about this movement.

Two of the outstanding participants in Communist activities in India—one in Europe and the other in India—namely, M. N. Roy and Com. Muzaffar Ahmad, have published their political memoirs. These two books, more especially Com. Ahmad's book, is of much help to readers and workers in this field.

Nowadays Communism in India is a very attractive subject to Communists, non-Communists and anti-Communists though for quite different reasons. Large number of workers are working on this subject in India and abroad. If they are able to unearth and publish basic documents of the Communist movement in India they will help the future writers of the history of the movement.

History cannot and should not be an individual conception. History of Communism in India or the Communist Party of India has yet to take shape. Not to speak of an 'array' of books, there is not yet a single one which is so good that one can refer to it to the exclusion of others, not yet a single one which is truly worthy of the subject. We are still turning around it, approaching and investing it from every side; we do not yet muster it. It can be said that without the help and co-operation of the former Comintern archives full justice cannot be done to this subject.

All the documents given here are in the Home and Political Department of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, except the Ahmedabad and Gaya Manifestoes of C. I.

One curious fact should be noted here. I do not know when the word Leninism was coined and by whom. I have seen the second edition of Saforov's *Osnovy Leninizma* (the Base of Leninism) published in 1922. I do not know when the first edition came out. We find the use of the word Leninism for the first time in the documents in 1920. This is one of the earliest use of this term.

I am thankful to H. C. Gupta with whom I read some articles in the Bolshoi Encyclopaedia and also to Suryadco Upadhyaya who kindly searched out and sent me a copy of the review of *Gandhi vs. Lenin*.

I have tried to be precise and factual in writing the notes. I shall be very thankful to readers if they point out my errors and inaccuracies therein.

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MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA





## A NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

Cecil Kaye, son of William Kaye of the Bengal Civil Service, was born on 27th May, 1868. After finishing his education at Winchester he joined the 2nd Battalion Derbyshire Regiment in 1889. His services were transferred to the Indian Army in 1892. He saw active service in the Indian Army in the North-West Frontier of India, 1897-98 and was awarded a medal with clasp. He was promoted to become the General Staff Officer at Indian Army Headquarters, Simla in 1908.

After the outbreak of the first World War he was appointed Deputy Chief Censor and served under Sir Charles Raitt Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Government of India. In this work his talents found full scope and his ability in deciphering codes brought him into prominence. He continued on military duty up to 24th September, 1919. He was on special duty under the Home Department of the Government of India from 29th September, 1919 stationed at Simla as Director, Central Intelligence (*sub pro tem*) and was confirmed on 7th May, 1920. Thus he succeeded Sir Charles Cleveland as head of this department and retired in 1925. After retirement he served as one of the Ministers of the small princely State of Tonk.

Kaye's services were recognized by his masters by successive awards of the C.J.E., the C.S.I., the C.B.E. and a Knighthood. For many years Kaye and his wife, Margaret Sarah, the daughter of Rev. T. Bryson, of London Missionary Society, Tientsin, China, were popular figures in social life of Britishers of Simla and Delhi and later on in Kashmir. Cecil Kaye died at Delhi on the morning of March 5, 1935, of heart failure. At his own request the funeral took place at Sanawar, in the Simla Hills.

M. S.



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## COMMUNISM IN INDIA

### THE GENESIS OF THE COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIA

The introduction of Communist ideas into India has, for a long time past, been an important item in the policy of the Bolsheviks, owing to their conviction that Great Britain is the enemy, that her most vulnerable point is India and the 'till India is liberated, Russia will not be rid of the menace of England'.

The Second Congress of the Communist International, held in 1920, adopted certain Theses: including one which stated that 'the nationalist movement in the Colonial and semi-Colonial countries was objectively fundamentally a revolutionary struggle and as such it formed a part of the struggle for world revolution.' "Therefore it was determined that the Communist parties in the western countries, and particularly those of the Imperialist countries, should do everything in their power to develop these movements. But we did not know in those days how this instruction, this resolution of the Second Congress, could be carried out....". (Speech of M. N. Roy at the Fourth Congress, 1922 —'Advance Guard', 15th January 1923.)

In October 1920, the well-known Indian revolutionary Chattopadhyaya, who was then in Stockholm, put forward a proposal for the organisation of all Indian revolutionaries in Europe. A Society was to be started in Berlin, the 'Indian Revolutionary Society', to include all shades of revolutionaries, whether Nationalist or Communist, though the members of the Executive Committee would secretly bind themselves to Communism. There were to be three groups among [2] the members of the Executive Committee—(a) Political, (b) Commercial, (c) Propagandist—group (b) not to associate with groups (a) or (c). There were to be branches in different countries, each with its own head who should be a member of the Central Executive Committee, which should meet every three months. The head of the Political Section was always to remain in close touch with the Soviet authorities in Russia. Chattopadhyaya proposed that the Soviet Government should finance the scheme, and that he should go to Moscow to discuss it. The Soviet Government agreed to discuss, and Chattopadhyaya went to Moscow, where he (according to his own account) met Lenin, who said that he

was prepared to help if Chattopadhyaya could produce a mandate signed by leading Indian revolutionaries and communists.

About this time, the Executive Committee of the Communist International sent a circular to their representatives in Europe. This document explained that the Third International was devoting its attention mainly to the East, to countries where the natives were struggling against European rule. At first, all efforts were directed towards exploiting Pan-Islamism through the medium of the Angora Government. These were successful up to a certain point, but the successes gained by Mustafa Kemal led to a development of purely nationalist ideas which were opposed to any further co-operation with Soviet Russia. The necessity of the movement was therefore to create new fighting bases from which active hostilities could be conducted against Great Britain; and these bases could be found in Egypt and India. The former would supply a focus for Pan-Islamism—a successful rising would set the whole Mohammadan world ablaze. In the latter, the nationalist movement was closely connected with the idea of the deliverance of the labouring classes, an attitude from which it was only a short step to pure Communism. The leaders in [3] India were stated to be doing their best to postpone riots in order to co-ordinate the inevitable general rising with the Mahomedan blaze.

Chattopadhyaya insisted that Moscow should drop Pan-Islamic propaganda, as Hindu-Mahomedan antagonism was inimical to India: and that it should support Nationalist propaganda. Once India was independent, Communism could be introduced.

In February, 1921, Chattopadhyaya was in Berlin, and was instructed to bring to Moscow representatives of all the organised Indian bodies, but had asked for delay till April. By the middle of March, almost all the Indian revolutionary leaders had gathered in Berlin, whither the Soviet Government sent a representative to test Chattopadhyaya's claim. This representative is said to have returned to Moscow with a favourable report: in consequence of which, the Soviet accepted Chattopadhyaya's protest against their Pan-Islamic policy, agreed to drop the idea of immediate Communist propaganda in India and declared themselves ready to support unconditionally any revolutionary Indian movement. When arriving at this decision, Lenin is said to have remarked that 'a good Nationalist was better than a bad Communist'. Money was sent from Russia for the expenses of

Chattopadhyaya's delegation, which arrived in Moscow in May. On arrival, however, it encountered opposition from M. N. Roy.

M. N. Roy has played so prominent a part in the Communist Campaign against India, that it is worth while to give a brief account of his history. Narendra Nath Bhattacharji, son of Dina Bandhu Bhattacharji, of Chingripota, 24-Parganas, Bengal, was born about 1888. He became a member of the Bengal Revolutionary Party and was prosecuted—but acquitted—in the Howrah gang case. After the outbreak of the [4] War, offers of German help to the Bengal revolutionaries were brought to Calcutta in March 1915: and N. N. Bhattacharji was selected to go to Batavia, and to get in touch with German agents there. He left India in April, 1915 and returned in June, bringing with him a large sum of money. He went back again to Batavia in August, but was coldly received and thought it better not to return to India. He went to Shanghai and thence to San Francisco, where he arrived in June 1916. Here he adopted the *alias* of Manabendra Nath Roy. He was indicted in the San Francisco Indo-German conspiracy case, but evaded arrest by flight to Mexico. He left Mexico in 1920 and arrived in Moscow in June of that year. According to his own account, he persuaded the Soviet Government to provide a large quantity of arms and ammunition to be sent to the Indian frontier through Afghanistan. He himself went ahead with the intention of making his headquarters at Kabul, and of bringing out there a newspaper in various Oriental languages, for which the Soviet had provided him with a press. On arriving at the Afghan frontier, he began negotiations for his own entry and for the transport of the arms and ammunition through Afghanistan: both of which were refused. He sent a protest to the Soviet Government, who pressed the Afghan Government to allow the arms and ammunition to pass. The Afghan Government agreed, if they were allowed the responsibility of transport and distribution: which suggestion the Soviet approved, on condition that the arms and ammunition were handed over, on the Indian frontier, to persons selected by the Soviet Government. The Afghan Government refused this condition, so the consignment remained in Russian territory. In his journey to the Afghan frontier, Roy was accompanied by his friend and colleague Abani Mukerji, with whom he attended a conference at Baku, in September 1920, which was also attended by some Peshawar traders, who were [5] represented as delegates from India. On the failure of his Afghan negotiations, Roy



retreated to Tashkend, where he decided to attempt to collect a revolutionary party, using for the purpose some of the Indian Muhajirin whom he had met on his travels. At Tashkend he organised an All-India Revolutionary Committee and started a training school for Indian propagandists. He quarrelled with one of his co-adjutors on the All-India Revolutionary Committee and organised a separate Indian Communist Party, but quarrelled again: and it was at this moment that the Soviet Foreign Office sent for him to Moscow, to take part in the general conference of all Indian Revolutionaries in Europe, to which Chattopadhyaya's delegation had also been bidden. Roy accordingly left for Moscow, about January 1921, Abani Mukerji remaining at Tashkend in charge of the 'students'.

Owing to the delay in the arrival of Chattopadhyaya's party, Roy had the first word with the Soviet, and appears to have made a good impression upon Lenin, with whom he seems to have been on very friendly terms. He represented to the Soviet Government that Chattopadhyaya's party was Nationalist, not Communist: and that it was contrary to Communist principles to help Nationalists. He declared his willingness to co-operate with Chattopadhyaya's party if they would accept his terms; but, when the latter arrived at Moscow, they discovered that Roy had already signed a contract with the Soviet Government on behalf of the 'Indian Nationalists', under which he had agreed to accept Bolshevism as the only possible organisation that could be introduced into the 'New India' and had pledged himself to further the cause of Bolshevism, not only in India but throughout the world.

The Conference of Indian revolutionaries proved a fiasco, Roy and Chattopadhyaya disputing leadership and being unwilling to work together. Roy claimed[6] the leadership on the ground that, whatever he might have failed to do, he had won a great victory for Indian revolutionaries by obtaining from the Third International recognition of his Indian Communist Party, started at Tashkend. As the Conference did nothing but quarrel among themselves, the Soviet intervened. They decided in favour of Communism as against Nationalism, though agreeing to help the latter through the former: the decision being in favour of the policy of only recognising and giving help to Communist parties: who were themselves permitted, should they so desire, to aid Nationalist movements. Roy's group was unconditionally recognised as the one with which the Communist International

would work in future, and it was agreed to start 'intensified propaganda in India' for which the Soviet Government undertook to provide ample funds. Chattopadhyaya objected, and presented a 'thesis' in dissent—saying the first necessity was the overthrow of the British Government in India—after which Communism could be introduced, not only in India but in England, where the loss of India—would produce poverty and consequent discontent. The Communist International should undertake this itself—"It is incumbent on the Communist International to exploit to the utmost extent every available revolutionary tendency in and outside India." Chattopadhyaya, however, in the end accepted the decision, since the Soviet Government refused to afford help under any other conditions.

Evelyn Roy (M. N. Roy's American wife, née Trent) writing to a correspondent in Paris, said that the Communist International decided against Chattopadhyaya, who, with his friends, spent three months in Moscow trying to discredit Roy and to usurp his place. The decision was that "All work is to be carried on by the Communist Party which already exists here" (Moscow): "here will be established the Bureau[7] for our work and the training school for such of our people as wish to avail themselves of it. Classes have already been opened in the University and we have 17 students enrolled—the course will last three months, as they already had some preliminary training with us . . . negotiations have been carried on through a Commission appointed by the International to study the question. Their decision, and that of the International, I have given above. All nationalists are to seek help elsewhere: the International cannot aid Nationalist causes except through a Communist Party as intermediary. Every effort will be bent upon building a strong Communist Party within the country" (India), "using those elements which we have outside who are really Communist, as preliminary workers. Headquarters will be here, and a journal issued."

The 'Communist Party' (of India) was the one which Roy had started at Tashkend and had taken with him to Moscow; it consisted of himself and those Tashkend students who accompanied him and who were to receive their final training at the University in Moscow. This was the 'Communist University of Workers of the East', which was established in 1921 by the 'Narkomnatz' (Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities) at Moscow. After training, these workers were to be utilised in

Eastern countries, including India. The 'Commission appointed by the International' was a sub-Committee called the 'Mali Buro': whose detailed decision was as follows :—

A Communist group to be formed in Moscow whose work will be to—

(1) prepare propaganda literature in all Indian languages ;  
 (2) collect and train Indian revolutionaries and send them to India ; [8]

(3) select, from Indians now in Moscow, an emissary to India; who shall—

- (a) form a Communist Party in India ;
  - (b) establish liaison between the Third International, Gandhi, and the Khilafat party ;
  - (c) arrange for despatch to Russia of representatives from Gandhi and the Khilafat party ;
  - (d) Send representatives of the Indian working classes to Russia for instruction in revolutionary matters ;
- (4) send a man to America to form a Communist Party among the Indians in California.

The group was to work at first very secretly in Moscow : when conditions were favourable, to be transferred to Berlin.

In accordance with the above decisions, Nalini Gupta was selected as the emissary to India, receiving £ 200 for his travelling expenses. His instructions were those set out under (3) above. The remaining members of the 'delegation' were sent back to Berlin, their expenses thither being paid by the Soviet.

It is worth noting that the Indian Conference appear to have convinced the Communist International that practical work had already been started in India; since an official report to the Third International, dated June 5th, 1921, asserts that 'propagandists in India have attained serious and practical results'. This assurance was probably derived from Roy's report of the alleged 'Indian delegates' present at the Baku Conference of September 1920.

Immediately on the conclusion of the Conference, Roy started work: since we find him writing, on August 13th, 1921, to B. K. Sarkar "My work in [9] future will be to clarify the ideology of the Indian movement and to assist it in emerging from the narrow limits of bourgeois Nationalism and to launch it into the arena of the class struggle".

## THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN

Nalini Gupta arrived in Colombo in November 1921 and thence went to Calcutta. While there, he got in touch with Muzaffar Ahmad (one of the men convicted in the Cawnpore 'Bolshevik case') and with Roy's old friends among the Bengal revolutionaries. His movements were not interfered with, though he was kept under surveillance: and, in March 1922, he left Calcutta as a lascar on a City liner; but deserted at Colombo, whence he wrote and telegraphed to friends in India, and also cabled to Ram Bhattacharji in Leipzig for funds. Muzaffar Ahmad sent him 500 rupees by the hand of Jotin Mitter: and, thus equipped, Nalini Gupta sailed for Marseilles and went to Berlin, where he submitted a report which was discussed at a meeting of Indians held there at the beginning of May. The report gave, as the objects of his mission: to inform the various political, labour and revolutionary organisations in India, especially in Bengal, that the Communist International would give them every assistance provided they accepted its principles: and to form a central body in India to ensure regular communication in the event of the Indians agreeing to co-operate with the Communist International. Nalini Gupta claimed to have got into touch with the organisations mentioned and that they had agreed to co-operate with the Communist International if given substantial help for propaganda. Also that he had founded a Communist group which would serve as a means of communication between India and Moscow and for co-ordinating the work of the local branches throughout India, and that this party had written to him to say that they had already started propaganda work, especially among Indian[10] sailors, and were working on a small scale, awaiting advice and financial assistance. The meeting decided to confine its work, for the present, to the circulation in India of Roy's propaganda literature, and that pecuniary assistance should only be given to Nalini Gupta's organisation in Bengal—plans on a more extensive scale to be made after consultation with the Communist International.

About the same time as Nalini Gupta left for India, Joffe, a well-known member of the Communist International, left Moscow for Tashkend, with instructions to establish a Central Committee there, to deal with propaganda in India, Afghanistan and Central Asia—in particular, to be the channel of communication for agitators and propaganda from Russia to India. This Central Committee was to contain representatives of the Indian Communist

Party whose special duties would be to maintain communication with Communist organisations in India. It was intended to despatch, at the end of December 1921, a considerable body of agitators from Tashkend to India, who would by then have completed the special propaganda course at Tashkend and would be used to organise communist groups in India. Roy, who arrived in Berlin in April 1922, declared that he had despatched to India (from Moscow) the greater part of the students whom he had been training, and that he had left Abani Mukerji at Tashkend to look after those whom he had not taken with him to Moscow. He claimed to have had 22 students under training for two years, 17 of whom had by then been despatched to India.

There is also some reason to suppose that the final decision of the 'Mali Buro' (to get in touch with the Indians in California) had been given effect to: since S. N. Ghose, of the 'Friends of Freedom for India' in America, wrote in December 1921, to the notorious[11] revolutionary Rash Behari Bose, in Japan, urging him to obtain arms and ammunition for despatch to India. The well-known 'Raja' Mahendra Pratap, who was then in Kabul, was also instructed to come to Moscow *via* Tashkend, thence to proceed *via* Siberia to Peking, one of the objects of his mission being 'to establish close touch with certain Indian revolutionaries in Japan and to co-ordinate their efforts with those of the revolutionary party in India.'

As regards the despatch of the Moscow and Tashkend students to India, most of these appear to have been returned Muhajirs: a majority of whom seem to have accepted Roy's proposals as the only means of keeping themselves alive under Bolshevik principles—under which, 'if a man would not work, neither should he eat'. One of these men, who returned to Peshawar in February 1922, stated that, on promise of undertaking propaganda in consideration of permission to return home, he and his party were given £1400 and six rifles by Roy, with letters addressed to tribal Maliks and Mullahs, urging the raising of the frontier tribes. But some of the Muhajirs from Tashkend certainly tried to act up to their promises, and the students from Moscow included some really dangerous men, some of whom will be mentioned later.

At the end of 1921, Abani Mukerji returned to Moscow from Tashkend: and a printed manifesto, signed by himself and Roy, arrived in India in January 1922. It was addressed to 'The Delegates of the 36th Indian National Congress' and ad-

vocated advanced labour principles—"let the Congress make the demands of the Kisan Sabhas its own". Roy was reported to have received large sums of money from the Bolsheviks and to have claimed to have disbursed at least £10,000. Accusations of peculation followed, which impressed the Communist International to the extent of their refusing to give him any more money until he submitted a full account.

[12]After his arrival in Berlin in April, Roy showed considerable activity in his new duties. In that month, he attended a Communist Conference held there, and expressed the opinion that Indian revolutionaries had failed, so far, because they had no properly organised political body. Such a body, he said, existed in the National Congress, and a revolutionary spirit should be introduced into it by propaganda. He was trying to get Communist literature, in Urdu and Bengali, ready for distribution in India, and a certain amount had already been sent there, through B. K. Sarkar—mainly to a Benares newspaper, the "Aj". The despatch of propaganda in English began at once—the 'International Press Correspondence', the first numbers of which were noticed in India in May. One of these included an article by Roy, which advocated the formation in India of 'a proletariat Communistic party'. The article said that organisation was lacking, but that there existed in India the nucleus of a Communist Party—Nalini Gupta's organisation in Calcutta, of course. "All Nationalists must join it, to direct the proletariat aright, for the masses are awakening. . . . Punjab will be a useful recruiting ground for the proletariat army, for it contains the majority of the regular soldiers who, owing to their recent contact with the outer world, have become politically instructed and have imbibed revolutionary sentiments: and the proletariat army will be the bulwark of the revolutionary strength of India".

It was possibly in pursuit of his determination to exploit the Punjab that Roy got into communication with Ghulam Hussain through Khushi Mahomed, one of the students who ran away across the frontier from Lahore in 1915. Ghulam Hussain was a college friend of several of these students, in particular of Khushi Mahomed (who had adopted, in Afghanistan, the alias of Mahomed Ali) and of one Zafar[13] Hassan. In 1922, Ghulam Hussain was a professor at the Edwardes Mission College, Peshawar: and, at the invitation of Mahomed Ali and Zafar Hasan, the latter of whom sent him Rs. 3,000 from Kabul, he went to Kabul in March 1922, ostensibly for the purpose of

taking up teaching employment in Afghanistan. He returned in June, bringing back with him about Rs. 6,000 and subsequently received, from Kabul, about Rs. 16,000 more. With part of this money, he started an Urdu newspaper in Lahore, the 'Inqilab'. For purposes of correspondence with Roy, he assumed the *nom de guerre* of Mahomed Siddiqi.

It is worth mentioning that, while Ghulam Hussain was in Kabul, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, at a meeting held at Bombay on May 14th, considered an application from Indians in Kabul to form a Congress Committee there and for permission to raise a crore of rupees 'from foreign countries,' the money being guaranteed to be forthcoming within two months. The Committee decided to recommend affiliation, but rejected the money proposal without discussion. The Committee knew that the money was Bolshevik money, and their action shows that the Congress were not so far prepared to accept a Bolshevik subsidy, with its implied obligations.

During April and May, Roy was actively pushing his scheme to start a Communist newspaper in Berlin. His reasons, as stated by himself, for making Berlin his centre, in preference to Moscow, are of some interest. He considered that he had developed satisfactory communications with Northern India through (Mahomed Ali, his 'centre' in) Afghanistan, but that he had not been so successful (with Muzaffar Ahmad's organisation, started by Nalini Gupta) in Behgal, which Province, 'invariably takes the lead in political movements in India'. He thought he could better[14] establish connection from Central Europe and use it to get members of his party into the Indian National Congress. Roy's policy for his newspaper was to be, to condemn Non-co-operation, the Khilafat agitation, the Charka movement, etc., and to concentrate on arousing discontent among the masses. If his propaganda could produce agrarian and factory strikes, Government would support the landlords and owners, when the masses would realise that Government was their real enemy. Then Hindus and Mahomedans would unite, irrespective of caste and creed, to fight for their economic betterment against the common foe.

The first number of Roy's newspaper, 'the Vanguard of Indian Independence' was dated May 15th, 1922: and the first copies were intercepted in India, through the vigilance of a local Postmaster, early in June. Its effect was immediate, particularly in Calcutta, where the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" published a series

of articles obviously inspired by it, culminating, in its issue of August 31st, with a thinly disguised paraphrase of a leading article appearing in No. 7 of the "Vanguard", of date August 15th.

Meanwhile, Roy's antagonists in Europe had not been idle. In December 1921, Chattopadhyaya started an 'Indian News and Information Bureau' in Berlin, to carry on propaganda openly and to act as a cover for revolutionary activity. His intention was that the Bureau should include two Committees—one to direct revolutionary work, the other, which was to consist only of declared Communists, to work for the formation of a real Communist Party of India, as distinct from the sham one whose existence was asserted by Roy. In March, Chattopadhyaya attempted to convene a conference in Berlin, to be attended by delegates from India from whom he would be able to derive a 'mandate' and so oust Roy from the leadership, and also proposed to start a newspaper[15] as the organ of the Indian Communist Party. To prove the importance of his organisation, he arranged for his Bureau to be advertised (without mention of his own name) in the Indian press; and this was done somewhat extensively. Roy countered these activities first by announcing that he 'had it in black and white from the Indian National Congress that he was the sole representative of that body in Europe': and secondly by hurrying on with the production of the 'Vanguard'. None the less, Chattopadhyaya was not discouraged: he claimed that his Bureau was working very successfully and that many students from India were resorting to it, to whom he himself and B. N. Dutt lectured on revolutionary doctrine—even going so far, it was alleged, as to start a secret night school for instruction in the preparation of bombs and explosives. He reorganised his Indian Revolutionary Committee and called it the Indian Revolutionary Council: and sent letters to Taraknath Das and S. N. Ghose in America, to Rash Behari Bose in Japan, and to Barkatullah, Acharya, Dr. Hafiz and Obeidullah in Afghanistan, urging them to join. His main object continued to be to combine all the revolutionary Indians abroad and to form them into a central organisation directed from Berlin, in opposition to Roy. Roy, at this moment, received an accession of strength by the news of the safe arrival of one of his Moscow students, Shaukat Usmani, who wrote to him in April, from Bombay, announcing the fact; and Roy boldly claimed that his agents in India had been responsible, by their propaganda, for the Moplah rebellion, the Aika movement in the United Provinces, and 'the peasant



movement in the Punjab' (the Akali movement). But mutual quarrels continued : B. N. Dutta broke away from Chattopadhyaya, and Abani Mukerji deserted Roy : and the Bolshevik Eastern policy was disturbed. Chattopadhyaya was discredited and Roy distrusted, and the Indian conspirators in Europe were regarded as worthless. The Communist[16] International looked round to find means to get in touch with some responsible organisation in India, even if not a communist one—with the Congress or the Khilafat or, failing them, with the Akalis.

A report was received in July that the Soviet had granted five million gold roubles to Zinovieff for propaganda in India and the East: and that four millions had actually been handed over to him, out of which 1,200,000 (£ 120,000) had been sent to Afghanistan, apparently destined for India. The general accuracy of this report receives some support from the following facts. In June 1921 the Bank of England paid out, to the Russian Trade Delegation in London, 400 Bank of England notes of £ 100 each. Sixty-six of these were found to have been cashed in India in and after June 1922, all of them having reached India from Afghanistan. Of these, inquiry showed that 53 had been sent to India in the ordinary course of trade. Of the remainder, six were paid to Mota Singh, the notorious 'Babbar Akali' leader, five to Ghulam Hussain (mentioned above) and two to relatives in India of Indian revolutionaries in Kabul. Of the six paid to Mota Singh, three were expended by him in buying land and building a house, and two were cashed (after his arrest and conviction) by his sister and used by her for her own expenses. Ghulam Hussain paid one note to the labour agitator Chaman Lal, for shares in the latter's newspaper 'The Nation' and expended the rest, as well as the money he received after his return from Kabul, in starting the "Inquilab," in entertaining his friends, and in buying land of the value of Rs. 10,000 in Lahore 'in order to erect a press for Communist literature'. After his arrest, Ghulam Hussain made a confession, in the course of which he stated that, besides the money he had brought back from Kabul, he received from Zafar Hassan, by the hand of a man whom he did not know, who had come from Kabul for the purpose, two sums, in English[17] currency notes, of Rs. 9,000 odd and Rs. 6,000 odd—it was found that he had paid into his banking account at Lahore Rs. 10,800 in October 1922 and Rs. 7,000

in December. He admitted having spent the money, which he knew was Bolshevik money, in buying land and building a house and entertaining his friends: and claimed credit with Government for having thus expended money intended to be used for Bolshevik propaganda.

The despatch of this money to Afghanistan for India—if, as seems probable, it really took place,—seems to belong to the period before Roy assumed direction of Indian propaganda. Prior to that period, attempts were certainly made to introduce Communist propaganda into India, and one specific instance of an attempt to influence labour politics is on record. In July 1921 there arrived at Calcutta, as a stowaway on a German steamer, a man of the name of Tosche. He, with a companion, was arrested, but escaped from the prison van, was recaptured, tried sentenced and imprisoned. After his release, it was decided to deport him, but delay occurred, and it was not till November that he was actually sent away—to Shanghai. An All-India Trade Union Conference was held at Jheria in December 1921, of which the moving spirit was Chaman Lal, mentioned above: and this Conference which had sent a letter to Zinovieff, the contents of which are unknown, was later found to have written to Tosche also. Two letters, of dates in November and December 1921, were written to him to an address in Berlin, to be forwarded to Riga, whence Tosche had originally come to India: and explained that labour in India had been obliged temporarily to adopt the Non-co-operation creed because of Gandhi's great influence. "However, that stage is now past and labour will throw off the cloak of Gandhism and appear in the armour of Bolshevism". On the disclosure of these letters, further enquiries about Tosche were made, with the result[18] that he was identified as a Bolshevik agent who had come to India carrying letters of introduction to four individuals in Bombay, three in Calcutta, and some others elsewhere. It was evident that, in spite of his arrest, he had managed to arrange for the delivery of some at least of his letters.

#### PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

It has already been stated that Shaukat Usmani, the Moscow-trained student, arrived in India in April 1922. This became known through the interception of a letter from Roy, acknowledging one written by him from Bombay in that month. Roy's letter said "I am sending you a bundle of the first number of

our journal" (the 'Vanguard'). "Circulate it widely and make arrangements for its regular receipt. There are various other people in India working in conjunction with us : you will gradually get in touch with them. Enlist the active participation of the masses in the political movement: strikes and peasant movement should be the particular field of our activities." It was subsequently ascertained, from a statement made by Usmani after his arrest, that he had gone to Kabul as a Muhajir, and thence to Russia: that he met Roy in Tashkend and accompanied him to Moscow: that he made his way to India *via* Baku, and Teheran, arriving at the end of January 1922, on a Persian passport: that he went to Lahore to look for a companion of his journey who had preceded him from Teheran; but, failing to find him, he returned to Bombay and thence to Persia: whence he again returned to India in September.

The companion referred to was a man named Masud Ali Shah, also a Moscow-trained man. He reached India before Shaukat Usmani and went to his home, where he remained quietly for some considerable time; but eventually returned to Moscow and thence went to Berlin to meet Roy. In the meantime, Roy had received letters from India denouncing Masud Ali Shah as a spy: and, affecting to believe his denial, sent him[19] on a special mission to Moscow, where he was arrested and imprisoned. He managed to escape from prison and, after many wanderings and vicissitudes eventually got back to India, cured of any desire to assist Bolshevik propaganda in general, or Roy in particular.

Both the men mentioned above returned to India by sea, *via* the Persian Gulf: and there were other Moscow-trained students who came by the same route: in particular, a man named Shafiq who visited Lahore and then went to Kabul, where he presented a report on the situation in India: and two men whose *aliases* were Afzal and Akram, neither of which were ever identified and who, in any case, disappeared early from the ken of even their own friends. But, among a number of Muhajirs who returned to India *via* Peshawar, some were certainly Roy's agents. Among these, some were interrogated at Peshawar and allowed to return to their homes under surveillance: and some were arrested—notably one Mahomed Akbar, who was convicted in June 1922, his conviction legally establishing the existence of a Bolshevik-Indian plot. Information was also received of the intention to try a third route to India, *via* the Pamirs: a report subsequently substantiated by the arrest, in Chitral (in December)

of seven returning Muhajirs, who admitted that they had been sent to India as Roy's agents. They said they had been despatched from Moscow in January 1922, with instructions to get into touch with another Muhajir who had returned to his home in Peshawar some months before their arrest, *via* Bushire—possibly the Shafiq just mentioned. They said that ten of them had arrived in the Pamirs, but that three (subsequently imprisoned by the Afghans when attempting to cross Shignan into India) had remained in the Pamirs. These men, together with an eighth who had returned to India *via* Peshawar, were afterwards tried in Peshawar. Roy's statement that he had despatched 17 [20]agents from Moscow was thus substantiated and the whole number accounted for. Information was also received of the probability of a fourth route being tried—across Baluchistan to Sind; but no evidence of its actual use was obtained.

The appearance in India of the 'Vanguard' gave a considerable accession of strength to Roy's propaganda and was, indeed, the first item of his policy that produced tangible results. It was probably the teaching of the 'Vanguard' that was responsible for the appearance in June, of a pamphlet issued in Madras by the 'Communist Federal League of India' which was sent to Editors of newspapers who, later in the month, received letters warning them that, unless they republished the pamphlet, they would "become the object of our serious displeasure". The authorship of this pamphlet was traced to one Nilakantha Iyer, an ex-convict in connection with the Ashe murder case. When arrested, he attempted to shoot the police constable who arrested him, but his revolver missed fire.

The 'Vanguard' also exercised a considerable influence on a certain class of Indian newspapers. The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', as already mentioned, made free use of its sentiments and phraseology: as also did another Calcutta paper, the 'Atma Sakti', directed by a group of Bengal revolutionaries. The 'Independent' (Allahabad), edited by D. G. Upson, a pervert to Islam, made a practice of reprinting articles from prohibited publications, including the International Press Correspondence; though, in its issue of July 25th, it dissociated itself from the teachings of the 'Vanguard', but not from any aversion to Bolshevism: "on the contrary, we are very sympathetic towards Bolshevism. Jealousy of the essential purity of the Nationalist movement is the only reason why we dissociate it from would-be Western guides". The 'Nava Yuga' (Guntur, Madras Presidency, edited by one Krishna

Rao) was another adherent of the 'Vanguard',[21] and quite a crop of new papers with a Communist policy, drawing their inspiration from the 'Vanguard' appeared in various parts of India—notably two weeklies in Calcutta: one, a short-lived publication, edited by Nalini Gupta's recruit of Muzaffar Ahmed, and the other, the "Dhumketu", a Bengal revolutionaries' organ: the 'Deshar Bani' (Noakhali, Bengal): the 'Vartman' (Cawnpore): and the 'Socialist' (Bombay), of which more hereafter.

Apart from his activities in India, which will be referred to later, Roy continued to push his programme in Europe. In August he wrote to a French Communist, Vaillant Couturier, asking if arrangements could be made to send propaganda by the hand of Indian sailors from Marseilles and suggesting that, if these arrangements were successful, arms might be sent later by the same route. Vaillant Couturier replied in the affirmative and suggested that the arrangements should be carried out by an Indian who should be put in touch with Communists in Marseilles and would be given every assistance by the French Communist Party. Roy then enquired whether the French Communists had any line of communication with Pondicherry and was told that they had not, but that such a line could be worked up through Marseilles. In the same month, Roy also wrote to the Communist Party of Great Britain, asking whether they could supply him with two suitable men, one for Bombay and one for Calcutta. He was prepared to pay their passages, but was unable to provide funds for them to adopt 'a European standard of living' in India. Their work would be to arrange for the reception and distribution of Communist literature, and Roy added that 'they would find local helpers in India, though these required training and would not be of much assistance at first'. Still in the same month, Roy wrote to the 'Friends of Freedom for India' in the United States, asking them to help by sending copies[22] of the 'Vanguard' to India. In consequence of which appeal, S. N. Kar went from America to Berlin, to collaborate with Roy. On S. N. Kar's arrival, he and Nalini Gupta, at the instigation of Abani Mukerji, questioned Roy about his suspected misappropriation of Bolshevik funds: Roy replied that all he received from the Communist International was £200 a month for the 'Vanguard' and sanction for one monthly passage to India of his emissaries, each of whom would receive £200 for expenses. At the same time, Roy was trying to start a centre at Colombo: and it was perhaps as a consequence of this that the Bengal

'Communist Party' sent a man there with instructions to meet 'an important Bolshevist', from where he was reported to have returned with a quantity of Communist literature. There is reason to suppose that the 'important Bolshevist' was one of a party of four stowaways who were deported from Colombo in September, one of whom, by name Robin Cantor, eluded the Ceylon police and got as far as Madras before he was detected and sent back to Colombo; though it appears probable that he was not himself the 'important' one.

Roy's appeal to the Communist Party of Great Britain bore immediate fruit. They selected Charles Ashleigh, a fairly well-known communist writer, who, under the name of Ashford, had in 1918 been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the United States on a charge of fomenting riots following on strikes. He was released in February 1922 and deported to England. It was arranged that he should go to India armed with letters of introduction from Roy and should land at Bombay, whence he should go to Calcutta and should there pass as a Mahratta Brahman, passing under the name of Nanda Lal. His departure was not discovered until shortly before his arrival at Bombay, when his passport was cancelled by cable from England, and he was deported. Owing,[23] however, to local difficulties it proved necessary to allow him to stay in a Bombay hotel while awaiting deportation: and, though he managed to destroy his letters of introduction when he found himself detained on the arrival of the vessel at Bombay, he contrived to pay several visits while there, and to deliver himself of verbal messages. He arrived at Bombay, September 19th and left again, for Marseilles, September 23rd.

Shortly before Charles Ashleigh's arrival in Bombay, Roy had obtained two important recruits in India—Dange in Bombay and Singaravelu in Madras.

S. A. Dange first came to notice when, in June 1922, the 'Bombay Chronicle' published a review of a book written by him—'Gandhi v. Lenin.' In August he started a weekly paper, the 'Socialist', the fifth number of which (September 2nd) included a signed article by Roy: the 'Socialist' also reproduced articles from the International Press Correspondence, to which Dange was a recognised subscriber. It seems evident that Roy's attention was drawn to Dange by the publication of his 'Gandhi v. Lenin' and that he entered into correspondence with him directedly he saw it. No. 8 of the 'Vanguard' (September 1st) contained a criticism

on the book—"Mr. Dange has foreseen the great necessity in the present crisis, the organisation of Indian labour for a general strike that will paralyse the Government. If he flinches from the logical conclusion of such an act, which would inevitably result in an armed conflict, that is, revolution, it is because his theoretical development is still incomplete, his ideas are still confused. But Mr. Dange is on the right road, and greater studies of revolutions past and present, as well as continued analysis of the Indian situation from the standpoint of historic materialism, will correct his present errors of logic". It may, in passing, be noted that Dange, a year and a half later, denied that he 'flinched from the logical conclusion' by writing, in an article on the death of Lenin ('Socialist', Vol. II, [24] No. 8, January 30th, 1924): "The book (Gandhi v. Lenin) was meant to apprise Indians of the inherent fallacies of pacifism and the certain failure of pacifist methods in accomplishing a revolution in capitalist economy and political structure . . . When (Gandhi) was thus experimenting with fallacies, Lenin with an unerring eye grasped the key of the Russian revolution. He straightway appealed to the army and the peasantry . . . He broke away from the cowardly middle class . . . and made common cause with the proletariat . . . Why did pacifism in India fail and why did Lenin succeed? Lenin and his followers possessed that single virtue that alone brings success in social upheavals—that single virtue to describe which we quote Trotsky : 'If it is necessary and possible the revolutionist shatters the historical obstructions, resorting to force for the purpose. If this is not possible, he makes a detour, undermines and crushes, patiently and determinedly. He is a revolutionist because he does not fear to shatter obstacles and relentlessly to employ force : at the same time he knows its historical value. It is his constant endeavour to maintain his destructive and creative work at their highest pitch of activity, that is, to obtain from the given historical conditions the maximum which they are capable of yielding for the forward movement of the revolutionary class . . . ' But the highest spirit of revolution was absent in the class that led India from 1918 to 1923 . . . The greatest man of the world is dead. He left writing a book on Revolution, to work out a revolution. And he did it successfully".

Dange evidently sent Roy copies of the 'Socialist' as soon as it appeared, and continued to do so regularly; for Roy wrote to him on September 26th, acknowledging receipt, and on November 11th (from Moscow) to say that his paper and his book (a

pamphlet that Dange had written, entitled 'The Coming of Socialism') had been 'very well received here' and[25] were 'being exhibited in the Kremlin where the Congress was being held'—adding that 'the old man' (Lenin) 'was very interested in your book'. Also the first number of the 'Advance-Guard' (the name adopted by Roy after the first nine numbers of the "Vanguard" had appeared, in the hope of defeating the prohibition against the entry of the 'Vanguard' into India) contained a review of Dange's paper, under date October 1st. "The 'Socialist' (Bombay) is the pioneer of the political party which will lead the struggle for national liberation in order to secure real freedom for the masses of the Indian people. Judging from the several numbers that have already reached us the new contemporary has started very well in its career, which has great and glorious future before it. The appearance of the 'Socialist' marks the beginning of a new era in our movement. It is the harbinger of the coming revolutionary leadership which is alone capable of guiding our movement to the ultimate goal. The upper class has joined hands with the foreign ruler: the middle classes have more than once betrayed their inability to go very far: as the future belongs to the expropriated masses 'who have nothing to lose, but a world to gain'. With this motto the 'Socialist' has begun the new phase of our movement. We wish our contemporary all success". As already mentioned, Charles Ashleigh arrived in Bombay on September 19th. He went to see one K. B. Roy, a friend of Nalini Gupta, who refused to have anything to do with him 'fear for of losing his large salary'—he was an accountant in Tata's Insurance Company on Rs. 1,100 a month, and had been at Glasgow University with Nalini Gupta. Ashleigh then went to the 'Bombay Chronicle' office, where he learned Dange's address and had an interview with the latter, to whom he communicated verbal instructions and handed over his mission, the chief object of which was to organise propaganda on lines laid down by the Communist International. Among the other[26] arrangements made was one by which Dange was to act as Roy's Bombay correspondent for the 'Advance-Guard', in return for which Roy promised financial support to the 'Socialist'.

It may be mentioned here that Muzaffar Ahmed, in Calcutta, had been warned by Roy of Ashleigh's impending arrival and had sent Jotin Mitter to Bombay, to escort him to Calcutta. Jotin Mitter saw Ashleigh, who expressing his regret that he could not



remain in India, told Jotin Mitter that he would send Nalini Gupta in his place.

It had been known, for some time, that Roy had been writing and sending messages to Madras agitators; but the first definite proof of this was obtained by the interception of a letter from Singaravelu (a Barrister of Madras) dated November 28th. This letter, the contents of which showed that previous correspondence had passed, told Roy that the writer had been reading the "Vanguard" and that Roy's ideas were "indestructible and imperishable, and will fructify in time". Singaravelu added that he was 'preparing a New Manifesto embodying your ideas and mine'.

Shaukat Usmani returned to Bombay from Persia in September. It seems, that while in Persia, he had joined forces with the two unidentified agents, 'Afzal' and 'Akram'; for a letter to Roy, written from Bombay on September 26th, announces the arrival of 'us' and mentions 'the other two', one of whom had gone to Lahore and the other to Benares. He himself went to Benares, whence he wrote to Roy on October 12th saying "Here in Benares I have caught hold of quite a nice young intelligentsia, Hindus as well as Mahomedans, of somewhat advanced political views".

By the autumn of 1922, therefore, Roy could justly claim an extended organisation in India: Bengal (Muzaffar Ahmad), Bombay (Dange), Madras (Singaravelu), the United Provinces (Usmani) and the Punjab (Ghulam Hussain).

[27] Roy (and Nalini Gupta, who did not attend) was invited to the IV Congress of the Communist International to be held at Moscow the first week in November: and he devoted his energies, in the interim, specially to pushing his propaganda and working up his connection in India, in order to be able to make a good showing at the Congress. The 'International Press Correspondence' of July 17th had published an invitation to representatives of the Indian Communist Party to attend the Congress, and Roy, in his correspondence with his adherents in India, laid stress on this invitation. In particular, he was trying to induce the Indian Labour leaders to send a deputation: and, for this purpose, enlisted the assistance of the R.I.L.U. (Red International of Labour Unions) whose propaganda began to appear in India in August and who, in September, sent a letter inviting Indian Labour delegates to attend the Second Congress of the R.I.L.U., which was to be held in Moscow immediately after the

termination of the IV Congress of the Communist International. The Communist International laid great stress on this invitation, offering to bear the cost of passages, and the expenses, of the delegates: and Roy did his best, through the 'Vanguard' and in his private correspondence, to persuade prominent Indian labour agitators to attend, or, if personally unable to do so, to send suitable substitutes: whom he undertook to 'take care of' in Europe, and to arrange for their safe return to India. Roy proposed, if these appeals failed, to send Nalini Gupta again to India to bring back a Communist and Labour delegation.

Instructions were issued by Moscow to the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U., in September, appointing them the centre of communications, and ordering them to establish improved connections, with India. The only definite results obtained by these activities appear to have been that the Bengal Trade Union [28] Federation sent a report and a bulletin to the R.I.L.U., the acknowledgement of which they received in November: and Chaman Lal started, in September, his newspaper 'The Nation'—a daily 'whose policy will be definitely Labour'.

Roy's correspondence, at this period, with his Indian adherents is of considerable interest.

*Muzaffar Ahmed* had written to Roy on June 15th, saying that he had received and distributed copies of the 'Vanguard', but expressed the opinion that a journal in English was of little use—what was wanted was vernacular versions,\* in Bengali, Urdu and Hindi. On June 22nd he acknowledged copies of the 'International Press Correspondence' and asked for more copies of the 'Vanguard'—"we cannot get on with only a few of them". Roy answered on July 25th, saying that a delegation from India to the IV Congress of the Communist International was necessary, and enclosing a letter to Chiraranjan Das (C. R. Das' son) and Subash Bose (a man who had passed the Indian Civil Service examination but refused appointment, and who afterwards became Chief Executive Officer to C. R. Das when the latter was appointed Mayor of Calcutta), which Muzaffar Ahmed was desired to hand over to the addresses. Roy's letter to Muzaffar Ahmed says that Nalini Gupta had reported that these two men wanted to come to Russia, and that, if they do so, they must come with credentials from the All-India National Congress 'or some other legitimate group'. The enclosure mentions that the addresses are not personally known to Roy, though familiar to him by repute. In the course of the covering letter, Roy appoints Muzaffar Ahmed dis-

tributing centre for his pamphlets and the 'Vanguard' on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. On August 29th Roy wrote to Muzaffar Ahmed announcing the impending arrival of Nanda Lal (Charles Ashleigh) and asking Muzaffar[29] Ahmed to introduce him to some of Roy's old friends, and others, among the Bengal revolutionaries. "We will have to work with the Seamen's Union" for the despatch of literature by hand and for 'illegal' journeys 'with the help of seamen': "think carefully over the question of introducing our friend to Daud" (President of the Seamen's Union, but a man whom Roy regarded with distrust). The letter enclosed a cheque for £31, signed (illegibly) as Carsch Simon and Co., Berlin, drawn on the Swiss Banking Corporation, London, in repayment of the money advanced to Nalini Gupta through Jotin Mitter, when the former was stranded at Colombo. On July 26th Muzaffar Ahmed wrote to Ram Bhattacharji, in Leipzig (the man to whom Nalini Gupta had cabled for money from Colombo) telling him to address him as 'Mehtab Din' and expressing his readiness to join Roy as soon as sent for. On September 10th Roy wrote to Muzaffar Ahmed, saying he had changed the name of the 'Vanguard' in order to defeat the prohibition order under the Sea Customs Act (the change—to 'The Advance-Guard'—was actually made with the tenth number, on October 1st) and suggesting that the 'Vanguard' should be translated 'with necessary changes here and there' and published by Indian papers under a different title. "The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' did the same for two consecutive weeks". Roy asked if it would be possible "to print our paper secretly in India . . . . If you could print a few thousand copies, the problem of sending our paper to India would be solved. Somehow or other, a few copies would get through, after which it would be reprinted there; but it would have to be undertaken secretly": said Muzaffar Ahmed had promised to try and join him, and asked whether he was in earnest: expressed the hope that he had met 'that friend' (Ashleigh): asked about the reliability of certain individuals: declared that the Indians in Berlin were quarrelling among themselves: and added "many students are coming here". In view of[30] subsequent developments in Bengal, it is of interest to note the names of the revolutionaries to whom Roy suggested that Charles Ashleigh should be introduced—Amar Chatterji, Upen Banerji, Jadu Gopal Mukerji, Subash Bose, Sachin Sanyal, Suresh Mazumdar, Bepin Ganguly. On September 17th Roy wrote to Muzaffar Ahmed, saying that a centre in Bombay

was necessary, where the work must be carried on 'through the help of lascars' in smuggling literature and facilitating 'the journey of members', and asking Muzaffar Ahmed to go to Bombay and meet Dange. On October 10th Roy wrote "The boys who are returning home" (the reference is to Usmani, 'Afzal', 'Akram' etc.) "are all very good. I have not given them your address, but they are going to Calcutta and you may happen to meet with them". He announced that his arrangements for the reception of Nanda Lal (Ashleigh) at Bombay broke down through the refusal of 'a friend of Kumar' to have anything to do with the matter: and asked for the despatch of more students. 'Kumar' was a *nom de guerre* of Nalini Gupta: and his 'friend' was K. B. Roy, the accountant in Tata's Insurance Company at Bombay.

It has already been mentioned that Usmani wrote to Roy on October 12th announcing the establishment of a centre at Benares. In the same letter he gave (in cipher) several names of his 'party', including that of Sampurnanand. "As he is an influential man in the Congress circle he promises to circulate the literature and books among his most trustworthy friends. That is what we want him to do". He also gave the name of one Imamuddin Rizvi as a cover address: to which Evelyn Roy afterwards addressed 'Afzal', explaining that she could not read Usmani's cipher. The letter was never delivered, as 'Afzal',—whoever he was—had by then disappeared from the ken of his Communist friends in India. Sampurnanand published, on October 16th, a 'Memorandum on the[31] Congress Programme', by way of preparation for the exposition of his views at the All-India Congress Session at Gaya. It embodied most of Roy's views, and called for absolute independence. "We are aiming at *political* Swaraj: the means must be such as have usually been found successful in similar cases. Gandhi spoke of a bloodless revolution. Such a thing is an impossibility. There is bound to be bloodshed. Our revolution will be bloodless only in the sense that blood will not be shed by us. So far as I can see, we shall not shed blood because we have not the means to do so, even if we have the will . . . . It is sheer hypocritical cant to say that the use of violence in safeguarding or winning back our liberties is brutal, degrading, or a western innovation. The East will have to renounce most of its gods and goddesses before it can think of denouncing violence *per se*. Let us say, then, that we want a revolution. Let us also profit from the experiences of revolution elsewhere . . . . The leaders of the Non-co-operation mo-

vement were prepared to lead a revolution and they started one, but they should have known that every revolution develops ugly side-issues. We are all sorry for what happened at Chauri Chaura, but this cannot justify the Bardoli retreat. What guarantee is there that, if the country again gets ready for Civil Disobedience and a few policemen are murdered or something similar happens in some remote village (quite possibly through the efforts of the Government, which would not scruple to lose a few policemen if it can save an Empire) our leaders will not again be unnerved? . . . I remember to have read a book by Lenin wherein he says that the Bolsheviks always coordinated their legal with their illegal activities. Much as one may deplore it, secrecy cannot be banished from practical politics. If we cannot act secretly at times, we had better abdicate our functions as a political body. The time to start Satyagraha will be when we are most organised, when the Government has made itself most unpopular and when the political situation[32] outside India has added to its distractions and increased its embarrassments. Such a situation may arise any day. Let us help to create it and prepare to make use of it when it comes...Congress should make it clear that it will refuse to take into consideration acts of violence, no matter what their seriousness, unless they are committed by Congress volunteers wearing distinctive Congress badges under the orders of officers deputed by Congress to do some Congress work. If the Government wants to send the movement underground, let it take the risk".

Roy wrote to Dange on September 26th referring to Ashleigh's visit—"I hope you have already received other messages from me through a different channel and trust the message will be responded to satisfactorily". On October 3rd Roy acknowledged a letter which appears to have contained Dange's proposals for starting a 'Socialist League for India'. Roy wrote that this had better be postponed until after the IV Congress, which he invited Dange to attend in person, or to send a representative: and promised 'suitable arrangement' and 'support' for the 'Socialist' as well as literature and literary contributions. On November 2nd, Roy said that 'our friend' (Ashleigh) "has come back and related the whole affair. It is unfortunate that he met such a disaster. We counted upon the success of his mission. But we believed that he did the best that could be done under the circumstances, to transfer his charge to the best person available. And we look upon you as the most suitable for the purpose"

Roy added "we were all very glad to learn of the formation of the Socialist Labour Party. Your programme has been translated in other languages and circulated among the leaders. . . . I take it for granted that the Socialist Labour Party understands the necessity of international affiliation and believes that the Communist International is the only Revolutionary International body". Dange had announced the 'formation of the Indian Socialist[33] Labour Party of the Indian National Congress' in the 'Socialist' of September 16th: as a corollary, it may be presumed, to Roy's views on 'The Oriental Question' printed by the 'Socialist' on September 2nd. In this article, Roy had advised that "the conditions obtaining in the various countries should be carefully studied in order to ascertain which social class is historically and circumstantially destined to be revolutionary in the present moment as well as in the immediate future, since in such a class-conscious section is to be found the natural ally of the Western Proletariat in its fight for the overthrow of capitalist order of society": and had gone on to say "The first stages of the change all over the East are bound to be a great upheaval against the foreign imperialism, but it will be headed by the most active social class according to the economic development of the respective countries . . . . But until and unless the masses of the subject population take active and conscious part in the mass movement, the foreign imperialism cannot and will not be overthrown only by the action of the bourgeoisie". Dange's explanation of his creed was as follows:—

"To rouse the nation to its depths by the light of the great international movement that is coming to the forefront and which will before long be the party in power in advanced countries, we suggest to the Indian National Congress to have connection with this world-wide movement of true freedom of the masses. We suggest to the radical-minded men of the Congress . . . . a programme of a party suited to our present conditions. The party may be called the Indian Socialist Labour Party of the Indian National Congress . . . . The I.S.L.P. must believe in democracy organised both in its political and industrial aspects, for communal ends . . . The Party must take its part in the struggle of the people to win freedom from the economic tyranny imposed by the capitalist class and[34] capitalist State. The best way of effecting a change to Socialism is by

the organisation of the workers, politically to capture the power of the State, and industrially to take over the control and management of the industrial machine. The Party must recognise that circumstances may arise when a Government or reactionary class might attempt to suppress liberty or thwart the national will, and that to defeat such an attempt Democracy must use to the utmost extent its political and industrial power. We think such a programme will not frighten even the most chicken-hearted spiritualist" . . . The next issue of the 'Socialist' printed an article, professedly contributed by T. V. Parvate (a creature of Dange's whose name Dange used for some of his subsequent ventures) which made clear what Dange meant by saying that Democracy must use its power 'to the utmost extent'. The article, which was headed 'Socialist Party of the Congress' included the following passage: "Irish Labourers had done the same, when they made an alliance with the Sinn Feiners. The several parties in Ireland made common cause and fought for Irish freedom. So let us do in India, remembering, however, that the success in the fight with the foreigner does not end our struggle. We have to struggle with the privileged, the propertied, the landed and the rich".

It is not known when Singaravelu began correspondence with Roy; but the earliest interception (November 1922) revealed the fact that correspondence had been proceeding between the two for some time. Ghulam Hussain appears to have corresponded with Mahomed Ali in Kabul, but not direct with Roy: who, on October 16, wrote an interesting letter to Mahomed Ali (under cover to Zafar Hasan) from which the following[35] extracts are taken: "Our work is progressing quite satisfactorily in spite of all the obstacles put by our own people". (The reference is to Chattopadhyaya and Abani Mukerji, no doubt). "All over the country small groups are being crystallized and our propaganda is being amazingly responded to . . . The letter from Secretary, Congress Committee, will be answered by the other way". (This shows that the Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, had written to Roy by the ordinary mail—the contents of the letter are unknown—and that Roy proposed to answer overland, *via* Moscow). "Meanwhile please ask him if he has noticed the

transformation of the Patrika" (The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', of Calcutta) . . . "which has taken up our cry and has reprinted a number of articles" (from the 'Vanguard') as its own editorial. The same can be said about a number of other papers in other Provinces. A Madras leader" (Presumably Singaravelu) "has requested permission to translate my book into his vernacular. How is the Urdu translation" (undertaken by Ghulam Hussain) "going on? We have been joyfully watching the little child M.S.; but what a pity he is gone". (Mota Singh is meant: he had been in touch with Mahomed Ali in Kabul and had received money from him: but had, some time previously, been arrested). "But suppose you are in touch with others equally suitable. Send us a detailed report about the plays of the flock of your child". (The 'Babbar Akalis', whose leader was Mota Singh). "Your prof-friend has never written us. What is he doing? Where is he?" (Professor Ghulam Hussain is meant). "Have you heard anything from the returned pilgrims? Try to round them up and say their prayers in an orderly chorus" (This refers to the trained students and means that Mahomed Ali is asked to co-ordinate their propaganda efforts.)

Roy was also in correspondence with some of the Bengal revolutionaries. In September, Pulin Das wrote[36] to Roy saying that he was in agreement with the 'Vanguard' programme and was willing to work in co-operation with Roy. Some of the other revolutionaries also accepted Roy's programme, but some remained 'Nationalist'. Roy tried to convert the latter, by arguing that they were all working for the same end, political freedom for India. It is interesting to note that, on May 29th, Roy wrote to some of his old revolutionary friends, "we had sent Nalini" (Gupta) "to our country in order to get news of you all and to make preliminary arrangements to begin our work".

In addition to his voluminous correspondence, Roy's propaganda output during this period was large. The 'Vanguard' was intercepted in quantities, though a considerable number of copies were still getting through. The first of Roy's pamphlets, 'India in Transition', written in collaboration with Abani Mukerji before they quarrelled, was noticed in India in August: and the second ('India's Problem and its Solution') and third ('What do we want?') followed at short intervals—the first interception of the former being in November and of the latter in December; though Roy had, on November 2nd, written to Dange a letter announcing despatch of copies of "What do we want?", and had



sent a number of packets, each containing five copies, to various addressees, mostly newspaper Editors and Secretaries of Labour Organisations, throughout India.

Roy's published propaganda, contained in the 'Vanguard' and his pamphlets, was put forward with two main objects—the first, to appeal by reasoned argument to 'responsible' politicians, such as those who led the Indian National Congress; and the second, to rouse 'the masses', by direct incitement, to a sense of their own wants and their own power. It is interesting to watch these two parallel lines of activity, in the second of which Roy never hesitated to preach open[37] violence, though touching lightly on it in the first. His tactics were an attempt to combine the intelligentsia and the masses in a Nationalist struggle to oust the British, explaining to the former that they, the brains of the struggle, would be unable to achieve success without the force of the masses; but it was the quite obvious implication that, if the intelligentsia could manage the ejection of the British and could establish an Indian bureaucracy in the place of the existing British bureaucracy, the communist would then find it easy to come into his own. At the beginning of his campaign, Roy was careful not to make this point too obvious; but, later on, he pressed it quite openly—witness, for instance, his account of 'The Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists', published in the 'Vanguard' of July 1st, 1923, which detailed the various steps by which the Russian revolution was accomplished—first, the overthrow of 'Tsarism', secondly the overthrow of the 'bourgeois dictatorship' of Kerensky, and finally the establishment of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'—and pointed the obvious parallel.

With the issue of the 'Vanguard' dated July 15th, 1922, was enclosed a 'Manifesto to the All-India Congress Committee' signed by Roy and S. N. Kar. The Manifesto says that the Non-co-operation movement—'that brilliantly conceived weapon'—'has not been wielded with the required courage and determination . . . the suspension of Civil Disobedience ordered from Bardoli was a veritable betrayal of the revolutionary rank and file'. The writers proceed to argue that the Non-co-operation leaders were wrong in believing that their propaganda had roused the 'revolutionary spirit' of the masses: and that, in fact, it was only the appearance of that spirit that made possible the initial success of the Non-co-operation movement. This being so, it is necessary that the Congress should 'assume the leadership of the masses by

making their[38] cause its own' and, by so doing, should 'frustrate the sinister design of the Government' to 'put the working class to sleep' by 'a little improvement in their present miserable conditions'. The 'ominous signs' of which are to be seen in the proposing and passing of 'reformist labour legislation', in 'plans for improving the living condition of the city worker', in the organisation of Trade Unions 'under the leadership of officially inspired men', in the forming of 'peasant co-operatives under the patronage of the district officers', in the starting of 'village reform associations with the help of benevolent Zamindars'. To defeat this attempt to 'increase the faith of the masses in reformism and the benevolence of the Government and the employer', it is necessary for the Congress to have a Political Programme—the establishment of 'a National Democratic Government free from any foreign protection or supervision'—and an Action Programme, in which 'is to be formulated the methods by which all the revolutionary forces are to be mobilised in the struggle for realising the establishment of an Indian Republic.' The Complete National Independence of India can be realised only by the efforts of the workers and peasants. Therefore, to develop the revolutionary consciousness of these is the burden of our Programme of Action . . . The Congress should at once launch a programme advocating the fight for higher wages for the workers, an eight-hour day, better housing, recognition of Unions, right of strike, equal pay for equal work, abolition of landlordism, reduction of rents and taxes, strong measures for the abolition of usury and such other measures as will correspond to the immediate necessities of the masses. Vigorous agitation should be carried on among the workers and peasants to show that their condition cannot be changed by palliatives, to expose the sinister motive of the reformist labour leader, liberal employer and benevolent landlord. These demands should be enforced by mass action—strikes, demonstrations, peasant [39]revolts . . . This is the only means of creating a situation fit for the inauguration of Civil Disobedience. The ignorant workers and peasants do not understand political theories any more than they care for spiritual abstractions. They want to satisfy their hunger, to have the intensity and brutality of exploitation modified. By realising this organic revolutionary relation with the only revolutionary social class, the Congress will be on the right path and will march from one victory to another till the ultimate goal is attained. Hoist the banner of Swaraj and

rally the people under it with the slogan of Living Wages to the Worker and Land to the Toiler”.

The following are a few further quotations exemplifying Roy's 'Congress' propaganda:—

*'Vanguard', June 1st, 1922:—*“The revolutionary energy of the toiling masses, which will overthrow the foreign domination as the first step towards freedom, is making itself felt in the Congress ranks through the medium of those who have challenged the fanatic pacifism of the spiritual reactionaries and have declared material progress to be the goal of our national struggle . . . not in the polytechnical school, nor in the volunteer corps, composed mainly of students, but in the midst of strikes, trade unions, peasant revolts and the agrarian movement are being and will be marshalled the forces of national liberation. The Congress has two alternatives before it: either to assume the leadership of these forces by showing the capacity to lead them cautiously, strategically, but unwaveringly forward in the struggle, or to abdicate the national leadership in order to go over eventually to the side of the enemy”.

*'Vanguard', September 15th, 1922:—*“The leadership of the future is left for those ardent and courageous revolutionaries who will undertake the task of organising the Mass party—the political party of the Workers[40] and Peasants, the only social element objectively revolutionary and whose interests can never be protected by half way measures of reform and compromise”.

*'Advance-Guard', October 1st, 1922:—*“The leadership of the national struggle must be taken over by a mass party consciously representing the interests, immediate as well as ultimate, of the workers and peasants . . . By mobilizing the revolutionary energy of the toiling masses in battle array, this party will strengthen the position of the middle-class democrats and push them onward in their struggle against the foreign ruler . . . Therefore what is wanted at the present crisis is a political party of the masses based on the principle of class interest and with a programme advocating mass action for carrying forward the struggle for national liberation” . . . “Let the revolutionary elements within the Congress not be carried away by any prospects of unity with the Moderates, because this unity will spell reaction to the movement . . . The revolutionary nationalists should beware of this eventuality and capture the Congress leadership at the head of a United Working Class Party”.

Roy continually advocated a 'fighting programme', quoting, as an example to be followed, that of the Irish Republicans; though pressing this as a means of *national* liberation, and sedulously keeping the later communist stage in the background. Thus, in the 'Vanguard' of July 1st, 1922, he wrote: "The adoption of a fighting programme is indispensable . . . To organise the industrial workers into class-conscious revolutionary Unions which will first fight for higher wages, shorter hours, better living conditions, etc., and enforce these demands by means of mass strikes to be converted into political strikes at every possible opportunity; to capture the leadership of the spontaneous peasant revolts by boldly giving out the revolutionary slogan of Non-payment of Rents and Taxes; to organise[41] mass resistance against the projected increase of indirect taxation; to proclaim the unconditional abolition of landlordism under Swaraj; such are the principal planks of the Fighting Programme which is necessary. The adoption of such a programme will infuse new vigour in the movement. By such an act, its social foundations will be shifted from the quicksands of wordy extremism on to the bedrock of the pauperized militant masses, whose present miserable plight cannot in the least be affected by a superficial readjustment of the economic and political structure and whose salvation, therefore, lies through a Revolution which incidentally will bring National Freedom to India." And, in the 'Advance-Guard' of October 15th, 1922, in an article headed "A lesson" (from the Irish Republican programme) 'for the Indian National Congress,' he wrote "It will be of interest for our revolutionary Nationalists to know that ever since the beginning of 1921 we have persistently held out to the Congress leaders the broad outlines of a similar programme which, we always maintained, should be adopted if the masses of the population are to be actively involved in the movement for National Liberation". In this article, he claimed to have 'published his programme in the beginning of 1921, and since then to have kept it before the country in some way or other in spite of the great difficulties that we have had to surmount in doing so': and he printed the principal points in the programme, similar to those set forth in his (subsequently published) programme for the Gaya Congress—with a notable addition: "The masses should be kept armed after the overthrow of foreign rule, in order to defend the Revolution and to fight counter-revolution. No standing army".

The implication in the last sentence—that the masses should be armed to overthrow foreign rule, and should be kept armed in

order to be in a position to overthrow the resulting National Bourgeois Government,—was[42] doubtless looked upon as injudicious, which accounts for its omission from the Gaya programme; but direct incitements to violence were not wanting in Roy's published propaganda—some of his private correspondence with persons who, he thought, might be alarmed at them, explains that he considered the support of the Soviet as indispensable for India and therefore consented to write as they directed even if, sometimes, against his own opinions. Of these, the following are examples:—

*'India in Transition'*:—"This victory will be won not through suffering and 'soul-force', but at the cost of torrents of blood and showers of tears, and it will be maintained by blood and iron".

*'Vanguard'*, May 15th, 1922:—"We will no longer exhort the hungry people to suffer for some visionary Swaraj to be attained by 'soul force' purified in the fire of poverty. Although it will be stupid to talk of premature violence, we are, nevertheless, of the opinion that non-violent revolution is an impossibility. The Indian masses—the workers organised in Trade Unions, the peasants forming their own fighting organs in the form of the Akali Dal, Kisan Sabhas, Aikka Sabhas, etc., call for a realist orientation in our political struggle. To help the formation of this much-needed realist orientation is the object of the 'Vanguard'."

*'Vanguard'*, June 15th, 1922:—"The overthrow of the foreign domination which is the avowed object of Indian Nationalism, cannot be realised without the strength and effort of that class of people which has nothing to lose by the consequences of such an overthrow. Which is this class? The wage-slaves toiling in the factories and on the field . . . The overthrow of one political institution will inevitably be followed by a period of disturbance. The Government maintained by violence and brute force cannot be overthrown[43] without violence and brute force, the pious desire of the Mahatma and our 'spiritual civilisation' notwithstanding . . . Struggle for national freedom is a revolutionary struggle; therefore it has to be carried on by a class which is socially revolutionary—whose further progress is impossible unless the socio-economic stagnation and obstacles are broken and washed away by a gigantic tide of revolution".

*'Vanguard'*, July 1st, 1922:—"The domination of one nation over another is established and maintained by brute force; therefore it cannot be shaken an iota by all the talks about 'constitutional right', 'justice', 'non-violence', 'non-co-operation', etc.

Its very existence gives birth to revolutionary forces and it is only by a violent revolution that it can be overthrown".

*'Vanguard', September 1st, 1922*:—"The people must be led step by step towards Mass Civil Disobedience, which is nothing less than open revolt".

*'Vanguard', September 15th, 1922*:—"The Government has smelt Bolshevism in the 'Vanguard' and has put it under ban . . . But let not the cry of Bolshevism terrify the revolutionary nationalists; because India will be liberated from foreign domination only by the revolutionary action of the labouring masses, whose political philosophy and social ideal cannot be anything but Bolshevism . . . The Vanguard is but an expression of the forces developing inside our social organism. These forces are the deadly enemy of British Imperialism . . . The nation can be freed only by Mass-revolution. The Vanguard of this great revolution must therefore be suffocated by the iron grip of Imperialism. But it cannot be done, because the vanguard of this revolution is in India. It is to be found among the rebellious peasantry and striking workers. The majestic voice of a great revolutionary class cannot be silenced. Before long it will resound louder and louder on the horizons of India. One[44] vanguard will perish, another will take its place, but it cannot be kept out of the country, since its soul is there. And this soul will speak in million voices which will drown the frantic shrieks and pitiable protests of the oppressor and his henchmen".

*'Advance-Guard', October 1st, 1922*:—"The only possible way in which recruiting can be seriously obstructed will be by the declaration of Mass Civil Disobedience with the slogan of "non-payment of rents and taxes". The movement should be inaugurated all over the country, specially in those provinces where the peasantry is already in a state of rebellion . . . If what broke out in Rai Bareilli, Gorakhpore, Chauri Chaura, Malabar, Guntur, Bombay, Madras, and what has been going on in the Punjab at the present moment, spreads all over the country, the Government will not dare to deplete the military forces in the country . . . A general strike on the railways will complete the situation, and India will be in a state of Revolution far greater than Great Britain involved in a war can cope with."

The most notable result of Roy's propaganda in India was the apparent conversion of C. R. Das, to his views. In August 1922, he was reported to have received letters from Roy: and, whether this is so or not, he certainly made a speech, in that

month, suggesting somewhat vaguely—"Swaraj for the Masses", which was hailed, in 'Vanguard' phraseology, by the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika'. In November, C. R. Das made a more definite speech, declaring that 'Swaraj must be for the masses and Swaraj must be won by the masses' and advocating (as did also the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee) the organisation of labour, on the ground that he 'had been definitely converted to the theory that, without the support of the masses, it would be impossible to make any headway'.

[45] Of Roy's allies outside India, 'Raja', Mahendra Pratap was the most active. In July, a printed circular over his name was found in Calcutta, addressed to the 'Indian People' urging them to rise at the earliest opportunity and saying that they had lost a favourable chance during the war and should be careful not to lose another. This circular was sent from America, whence he left for Japan in September: a signed article by Rash Behari Bose, announcing Mahendra Pratap's arrival in Japan, appeared in the '*Independent*' (Allahabad) early in December.

Rash Behari Bose was, in August, reported to be taking great interest in arranging to obtain arms for, and recruits from, India: and wrote to the All-India Congress Committee proposing to start a Congress organisation in Japan.

It has already been mentioned that S. N. Kar had come to Berlin to assist Roy in producing the 'Vanguard': and that the 'Manifesto to the All-India Congress Committee' of July 15th, was signed by them both. Kar, however, soon quarrelled with Roy and (in company with Abani Mukerji) joined Chattopadhyaya's opposition party, which formed an 'Indian Labour Bureau', with Abani Mukerji as Secretary. Chattopadhyaya's party received a further accession of strength in the well-known revolutionary Barkatullah, who arrived in Berlin in September and, after some preliminary *pourparlers* with Roy, attached himself to the opposition party. Chattopadhyaya had, in the meantime, been trying to organise a Paris branch of his party: and had suffered a loss in the defection of B. N. Dutt, who left him, to start a party of his own, linked with the "Friends of Freedom for India" in America, and Rash Behari Bose in Japan.

A report was also received, early in October, of the despatch of agents from Moscow, *via* Vladivostok and the Far East, to India, their headquarters to be at Delhi. The names given, having been transliterated[46] from Hindustani into Russian,

and thence into English, were unrecognisable, and exhaustive enquiries failed to identify them.

*The Fourth Congress of the Communist International.*—The IV Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow in the first week of November 1922, and an important part of its discussions centred on India. Its meeting was preceded by that of the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress, at which Zinovieff said “The crisis in the East sharpens daily. No one can speak of a World Revolution which will be victorious only in Europe. It will only be a World Revolution when the hundreds of millions of the East rise against their oppressors. And as the revolt grows in the East, so does the importance of our country in the eyes of the Eastern peoples”. At the IV Congress of the Communist International, in his opening speech to the Central Committee, Zinovieff said “Organised political (Communist) parties have been formed within the last fifteen months in such countries as . . . India . . . These parties are still weak in numbers, but the Kernel is at least formed”: and, in a later speech, “In India we have successes to report”.

The official report of the proceedings of the IV Congress, printed in the ‘International Press Correspondence’, says that four delegates from the Communist party of India were invited, and one came. This was Roy, who was, at the time, a member of the Executive Communist International and was, later, appointed a member of the Presidium. The ‘Advance-Guard’ printed (on December 15th) a report ‘from our Special Correspondence’ —“The question of the national struggle in the subject countries in the East in one of the principal subjects before the Congress. The conditions in the various countries are being seriously and minutely analysed by the Oriental delegates in conjunction with the representatives of Western working class, in order to formulate the methods by which the[47] struggle against imperialism can be intensified. It is evident from the reports of all the delegations that the Communist parties are alone capable of leading the masses of the population to the final victory in the struggle for national liberation. So means are being devised as to how the national struggle all over the East is to be intensified by awakening the revolutionary consciousness of the masses”. The ‘Advance-Guard’ and the ‘International Press Correspondence’ also printed, *in extenso*, Roy’s ‘report’ on the Eastern Question. This report surveyed the whole of the East and did not specially refer to India: it mentioned that ‘all the Eastern



delegations present at this Congress, in co-operation with the Eastern section of the Communist International, have prepared a thesis which has been submitted to the Congress': said that the 'Colonial' 'Communist parties, which at the present moment cannot be called more than nuclei', would 'assume the leadership of the national revolutionary struggle when it is deserted and betrayed by the bourgeoisie' and would 'lead the colonial peoples and oppressed nationalities to the conquest of complete political and economic independence': and observed that 'the experience of the last two years in co-ordinating our forces with the bourgeois nationalist parties in these countries shows that, though the medium of these parties, we can use and utilise the bourgeois revolutionary parties to the greatest extent'.

The following are extracts from the 'Program', presented to the IV Congress by Bucharin, one of the Russian members of the Executive of the Communist International: "Between the Capitalist and Communist systems there lies a long period of proletarian struggle . . . of colonial uprisings . . . An unavoidable premise for the transition from Capitalism to Communism . . . is the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois State and the seizure of power by the working class . . . An essential part of the seizure of power by the[48] working class is formed by the destruction of the bourgeois monopoly of arms, and by the concentration of arms in the hands of the proletariat. During the course of the struggle the main objective in view must be the disarmament of the bourgeois and the arming of the proletariat . . . The program of the Communist International demands the liberation of the Colonies and the support of all colonial movements against Imperialism . . . A successful fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat assumes the existence of a Communist Party which is firmly united, determined to fight, disciplined and centralised . . . The support of Soviet Russia constitutes the most powerful organising instrument in the hands of the international working class . . . international class discipline must above all be strictly adhered to in the ranks of the Communist Parties. This international communist discipline must be expressed by—the unqualified execution of all resolutions passed by the leading organs of the Communist International".

In the discussion which followed, Kabaktchiev, the Bulgarian member of the Executive, said "the experience of the Russian revolution and of the revolutionary movement in other countries has clearly indicated not only the demands of the proletariat.

but the means of their realization: notably the organisation of the workers and the struggle of the working masses for their immediate ends, leading up to the political general strike and armed insurrection. The revolutionary classes must seize the political power of the State by armed force . . .”.

The ‘Theses on the Eastern Question’ drawn up by the Eastern Commission, one of whose members was Roy, were carried unanimously. The following are extracts from the Theses: “The Communist International supports all national revolutionary movements against Imperialism . . . The struggle[49] for the emancipation of the land from feudal dues and feudal obstacles assumes the character of struggle for national emancipation and feudal large land ownership. Examples of this are the Moplah rising against the landowners and the British in India in the autumn of 1921 and the revolt of the Sikhs in 1922 . . . The revolutionary movement in the backward countries of the East cannot be successful unless it is based on the action of the masses of the peasantry . . . The working class in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must know that only by deepening and extending the struggle against the Imperialism of the Great Powers can its role as revolutionary leader be fulfilled . . . The Communist Parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries of the East . . . must take part in every movement that gives them access to the masses . . . To explain to the masses of the toilers the necessity for an alliance with the international proletariat and the Soviet Republics is one of the most important tasks of the tactics of the anti-Imperialist front . . . Every member of the Communist International must consider himself an agitator among the masses . . . The agitation shall always take as its starting point the concrete conditions and needs of the worker in order to lead him on the path of organised revolutionary class war. One should not expound Communist doctrines which would not be understood by the audience: one should always urge them to rise and fight for the immediate demands of the Proletariat against capitalist and bourgeois class rule wherever it appears”.

The speech of Radek (one of the Russian members of the Executive) on the Eastern question included the following: “In India we have already an ideological centre. I must say that comrade Roy has succeeded in achieving a big piece of work during the last year in the Marxist interpretation of Indian conditions ‘given in his admirable book’ (probably ‘What do we want?’) ‘and also in his organ’ (the ‘*Vanguard*’). “In no [50]

other Eastern Communist party has this kind of work been done. It certainly deserves to be supported by the Communist International . . . if we want to play our part in the coming revolutionary struggles, we must pledge the comrades of the Eastern countries for a great organisational and political work . . . Therefore the watchword of this Congress in the Eastern question must be: On to the toiling masses of the East, in order to educate them and to create strong points *d'appui* for the Communist International in the East such as would be of practical use in the struggle before us and assist us in influencing the masses. One more thing: In this work after we have rallied the workers around us, you must go to the peasants and to the artisans, and you must become not only the nucleus of the future workers' party, but also of the future people's party".

In winding up the session, the President (Zinovieff) said "If you wish to fight against war, you must recognise the necessity of propaganda in the army and conduct illegal work among the soldiers . . . Every big strike, every sporadic revolt, every important parliamentary crisis may, under certain conditions, become the starting point for a great revolutionary movement and even for a revolution itself . . . The creation of a strong nucleus of a Communist Party in a distant country has now more historical importance than the Versailles treaty, than the Lausanne Conference . . . the creation of the nucleus of a Communist Party in India, for example, is, from the historical point of view a much more important matter than all these conferences".

Roy expressed the opinion that the Communist International was well satisfied with the progress so far made in India, where promising results had been obtained in a short time with a small outlay of money. A telegram of 'fraternal greeting' was sent by the President of the IV Congress (as well as another from [51] the British Communist Party) to the General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress then about to meet in Lahore, which was published in the 'Advance-Guard' of December 15th—"Comrades . . . the Fourth Congress of the Communist International sends you its greetings . . . No improvement can be realised within the framework of imperialist exploitation. Therefore you will have to play an important role in the struggle for national liberation. Prepare to assume this historic rôle . . .". The 'International Press Correspondence' noted that 'contact has been established with the Bengal organisation': the Communist International was aware that several of Roy's trained propagandists had arrived in India *via*

Persia, though anxiety was felt regarding those who had started to go *viâ* the Pamirs: and, in a document dealing with the progress of the revolutionary movement in Northern India, presented by the Secretariat for Eastern Affairs of the Communist International and purporting to be based on reports from the Punjab 'which arrive regularly in spite of difficulties in transmission', it was asserted that Gandhi's peaceful policy had been thrown overboard, the nationalists were turning to direct action, and the revolutionary leaders 'realise that, after obtaining political freedom, their next task will be to free the masses from the tyranny of capitalists and Princes'.

The Ghadr Party in California (who had written to the 'Friends of Freedom for India' inviting co-operation) sent two representatives—Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh—to attend the IV Congress.

So far as regards the public activities of the IV Congress. Their secret activities had an even more important bearing on the Indian campaign, witness a secret report of the proceedings of a private meeting of the Colonial Commission of the Communist International which took place at Moscow on November 11th.[52] Roy, at this meeting, reported on the Indian revolutionary movement in the following terms: "India with 300 million inhabitants is an immense revolutionary factor which has not, so far, begun to move; but the outbreak of native forces will not only crush British might in Asia but will also become a lever for revolution in the remaining countries of the East". "The Nationalist movement has met with ferocious repression in spite of which revolution in India is gaining ground. The Sikhs have started in the Punjab, the Khilafat agitation, in favour of an alliance with Turkey against England, is growing. Hindu-Mussulman antagonism no longer exists. Labour has not the right kind of leaders. The tactics of the Indian Communist Party are to avoid conflict between Nationalist and Socialist elements, which would weaken the general opposition to Government'. "We are conducting a highly organised work for which we have entered into close contact with the leaders of the Socialist groups of India. One of these, the Dange group, is organising the 'Indian Socialist Labour Party of the Indian National Congress', whose programme is very close to our own. We must help to put this party on its feet, since there is not the slightest doubt that it will become a part of the Indian Communist Party. The Central Committee of the Indian Communist

Party is at Bombay and directs all the Party work. There are district Committees in Peshawar, Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad. We are trying to create a serious labour movement in India, keeping the control in our own hands. Difficulties are, first, connection between the Indian Communist Party and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, though we have established a fairly regular post through Kabul and Kandahar, and Comrade Raskolnikoff" (the Soviet Minister at Kabul) "has given great assistance to party workers and couriers going to Moscow and back: secondly, finance. The Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party[53] decided, at a meeting held on September 5th, to ask the Communist International for £120,000—£35,000 for party work, £70,000 for support of those labour organisations which are in favour of a united front for the Communist Party, and £15,000 for support of the 'Socialist' which is, for the time being, our party organ. Our tactics will be to combine the Independence movement, the labour organisation and the Peasants League (Kisan Sabha) into one struggle—also to put labour organisers into all factories. Our paramount duty remains the support, by every possible means, of labouring India in its struggle for freedom from British Capital". The meeting approved of these tactics by 19 votes to 2, and of the grant of £120,000 by 18 votes to 3.

Shortly after his return to Berlin, Roy issued the necessary instructions, in a series of letters dated December 19th. These were—link up the Communist groups: Bombay (Dange), Madras (Singaravelu), Lahore (Ghulam Hussain), Bengal (Muzaffar Ahmed), the United Provinces (Usmani): add 'the secret revolutionary societies', especially of Bengal: 'the left wing of the Trade Union movement': the left wing of the national Congress: the Khilafat movement: the Sikh movement ["we can reach the Sikh Akalis through the Inqilab group" (Ghulam Hussain)]: and make them into a 'country-wide party' with a revolutionary outlook which will, if possible, be legally organised as part of the Indian National Congress, but will, in fact, remain 'under the control and direction of our own (Communist) party, which cannot but be illegal'.

Roy had hoped that a delegation from India would have been sent to the IV Congress, and had despatched Charles Ashleigh specially for that purpose. As no such delegation had been sent, he now proposed a conference in Berlin, to be held under the auspices of [54]the Communist International, 'whose

representatives will be present, besides delegates from the British and other principal continental parties. The questions of the program and organisation of a revolutionary party of the working class will be discussed, as well as the tactics and ways and means for bringing such a country-wide party into being. We have to work both in legal and illegal ways'. This Conference Roy wished to be held as soon as possible—in any case, not later than the middle of February (1923). He urged the personal attendance of Dange, Singaravelu and Ghulam Hussain, with representatives of other organisations, not to exceed eight persons in all. Each delegate should bring an exhaustive report on the present situation in India and the future possibilities of work, from the view-point of the particular group represented by him. Expenses of the journey, and of the necessary stay in Berlin, would be paid: the delegates should come legally, with passports, if possible: otherwise 'illegally, with the help of sailors'. Passports, if obtainable, should be for England only, but the holders should disembark at Genoa, Venice, or Marseilles, where a 'German visa is easily obtainable the same day', and thence by direct train to Berlin. 'Complete secrecy as to visits and activities here is guaranteed to all delegates'. The addresses should send an address for telegraphic remittances—they should telegraph in the name of a business firm selected to receive the money "... pieces (give number of delegates) ordered per sample". Dange, in Bombay, was to be regarded as the 'center', and each addressee was to get in touch with the others, whose addresses were given in the letters.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SESSION AT GAYA,  
CHRISTMAS, 1922

Both Dange and Singaravelu attended the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress, where they were in frequent conclave. Singaravelu actively canvassed for Roy's programme and made a [55] speech to the Congress, introducing himself as a Communist, in the course of which he advocated a national strike to overthrow the domination both of the Government and of the bourgeoisie and said that he believed in non-violence and that, though he knew that the Communists outside India were opposed to it, in spirit the Communists were with India in her battle for freedom.

Roy published, in the 'Advance-Guard' of December 1st, "A Program for the Indian National Congress", summarised on

the front page and enclosed, as a separate pamphlet, inside the paper itself. The effect of this "Program" was lessened by the fact that, before the Congress met at Gaya, Reuter had telegraphed its purport with the result that Indian extremist politicians repudiated the 'Bolshevik' ideas contained in it. The "Program" was set forth under three headings:—

**"Program of National Liberation and Reconstruction—**

1. Complete National Independence, separated from all Imperial connection and free from all foreign supervision.
2. Election of a National Assembly by Universal Suffrage. The sovereignty of the people will be vested in the National Assembly, which will be the supreme authority.
3. Establishment of the Federated Republic of India.

**Social and Economic Program—**

(17) items—Confiscation of estates, abolition of indirect taxation, nationalization, minimum wage, eight-hour day, free and compulsory education, etc: the last being. 'No Standing Army will be maintained, but the entire people will be armed to defend the National[56] freedom. A National Militia will be organised and every citizen will be obliged to undergo a certain period of military training'.

**Action Program—**

(13 items: some of which are)—

1. Organisation of militant Peasants' Unions, through which 'the rebellious poor peasantry' will press their 'struggle against the excesses of landlordisms and high prices'.
2. Organisation of country-wide Mass Demonstrations under the slogan of non-payment of rent and taxes.
6. Organisation of Mass strikes to back up these demands, looking towards the declaration of a country-wide general strike.
7. Support of all strikes politically and financially out of Congress funds.
10. Organisation of a country-wide national Volunteer Corps."

(It is noteworthy that when, a year later, the 'Vanguard' reprinted this 'program',—with some verbal alterations and a few

omissions—for the benefit of the next annual session of the All-India Congress, one of the omissions was item 17 of the ‘Social and Economic program’—“No standing army, etc.”.)

This document, which was, after all, comparatively moderate, was sent to India by Roy in large quantities. 540 copies of it were intercepted at Gaya, and a number certainly got through. Indian newspapers produced camouflaged versions of it, the “Inqilab” (Ghulam Hussain’s paper) published a supplement (signed ‘Siddiqi’, which was Ghulam Hussain’s Communist *nom-de-guerre*) which gave a thinly disguised version of it, and another modified version was drawn up and signed by ‘Singaravelu (Indian Communist)’: both[57] the latter were freely circulated at Gaya. In consequence of the publication of the ‘Program’ by Reuter, the ‘Amrita Bazar Patrika’ of December 28th printed a reasoned defence of the theory of Bolshevism, and a number of articles sympathising with Communism appeared in the vernacular press—notably in the ‘Zamindar’ and “Bande Mataram’ (Lahore), ‘Student’ and ‘Bangler Katha’ (Bengal—the latter C. R. Das’s paper) and ‘Vikram’ (Cawnpore).

But, if Roys’ ‘Program’ can be described as a moderate document, the same cannot be said for a message purporting to come from Communist International, though in fact certainly drawn up by Roy. Three typed copies of it, with the space for the signature left blank, and with manuscript corrections and alterations in Roy’s handwriting, were intercepted enclosed in letters from Roy to Muzaffar Ahmed, Dange and Singaravelu. In each case the letter (dated December 12th, 1922) asked for publication of the enclosed document, the original of which had been sent ‘to the addressee’ in two cases, ‘straight to Gaya’ in the third. The message was published in the ‘Advance-Guard’ of January 1st, 1923, word for word as corrected and altered by Roy, with the signature of Humbert Droz (Secretary to the Presidium of the Communist International) added. It is a fair inference that Roy drew up the original and, after discussion, made some alterations in it, afterwards publishing it, in its amended form, nearly three weeks after the despatch of the original typed copies.

The following are extracts from this important document:—

“To the All-India National Congress, Gaya, India.  
Representatives of the Indian People!



The Fourth Congress of the Communist International sends to you its heartiest greetings. We are chiefly interested in the struggle of the Indian people[58] to free themselves from British domination . . . British rule in India was established by force and is maintained by force; therefore it can and will be overthrown only by a violent revolution. We are not in favour of resorting to violence if it can be helped; but for self-defence, the people of India must adopt violent means, without which the foreign domination based upon violence cannot be ended. The people of India are engaged in this great revolutionary struggle. The Communist International is whole-heartedly with them.

#### THE GOAL OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

The economic, social and cultural progress of the Indian people demands the complete separation of India from imperialist Britain. To realise this separation is the goal of revolutionary nationalism. This goal, however, cannot be attained by negotiation nor by peaceful means, . . . . Freedom or Slavery, there is no middle course . . . . The Indian people must be free or be crushed to death by British imperialism: there is no middle course. And the people of India will never liberate themselves from the present slavery without a sanguinary struggle . . . .

#### RELATION BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE STRUGGLE OF OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES

. . . . We must stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of India in their struggle against imperialism . . . . In leading the struggle for national liberation, the Indian National Congress should keep the following points always in view:—

1. That the normal development of the people cannot be assured unless imperialist domination is completely destroyed;
2. That no compromise with the British rulers will improve the position of the majority of the nation;[59]
3. That the British domination cannot be overthrown without a violent revolution;
4. That the workers and peasants are alone capable of carrying the revolution to victory.

#### THE PROGRAM OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

The National Congress should categorically declare that its political programme is the establishment of a Democratic Republic, completely independent of any foreign control . . . . The

necessity of developing the revolutionary consciousness of the masses demands the adoption of an economic programme, in addition to the political programme of a republic to be established by a revolution . . . . The native army, which maintains British domination in India, is recruited from among the poor peasantry. So a programme of agrarian revolution will win the native troops to the cause of national freedom.

In conclusion we express our confidence in the ultimate success of your cause, which is the destruction of British imperialism by the revolutionary might of the masses . . . .

Down with British Imperialism!

Long live the Free People of India!

With fraternal greetings.

Presidium of the Fourth Congress of the  
Communist International  
Secretary, Humbert Droz".

As already stated, Roy had announced the despatch of his pamphlet 'What Do We Want?' in November, though the first copies intercepted in India were found in December. (It was 'published in Geneva, 1922'—month not sated). This pamphlet pointed out that the goal can be attained in three stages—first, 'Political Independence'—"We are determined to overthrow [60]foreign rule"—and that the assistance of the bourgeoisie will be accepted for this first step. When foreign rule has been replaced by Indian 'bourgeois' rule, the second stage will be entered upon—that of 'Economic Emancipation'. Demands will be made, such as 'expropriation without compensation', which the Indian bourgeoisie, 'will not readily accept': and they will be forced to do so by 'mass action'—first demands, then 'mass demonstrations', finally the development that is thus described: "Mass action thus begun, will begin to develop into organised agrarian strikes, into food riots, the plunder of corn stocks and assaults upon large estates with the idea of confiscation . . . What burst out spontaneously at Gorakhpur, Rai Bareilli, Chauri Chaura, Malabar, Central India and what is going on in the Punjab, must be developed by every possible means. Peasant revolts must spread like wild fire from one end of the country to the other" . . . The result of this will be the overthrow of the Indian bourgeois Government and the attainment of the third

and final stage, 'Social Emancipation' in the form of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. The programme is summarised in the concluding paragraph: "It is our task to infuse consciousness in these toiling masses—to develop the spontaneous awakening and intensify their rebellious spirit by leading their struggle for the redress of their immediate grievances. Our object should be to create discontent everywhere against the present system of exploitation, and to intensify it wherever it exists. Thus will the ideal of Swaraj be brought within the understanding of the workers and peasants of India. Let us lead them forward under the slogans 'Down with Foreign Rule': 'Down with all exploitation': 'Land to the Peasant and Bread to the Worker'."

#### THE GENESIS OF THE 'LABOUR AND KISHAN PARTY OF HINDUSTAN'

Roy's preliminary tactics for the carrying out of this campaign were outlined in a letter[61] written by him to Dange on November 2nd, 1922, in which after referring to Dange's suggestion of starting a 'Socialist Labour Party of India', he wrote "I am sure that you will like to know the attitude of the Communist International towards the Indian movement at the present stage. In consonance with the point of view of the Communist International I make the following propositions . . . . A programme advocating mass action . . . . will be so formulated as to attract to us . . . . all the sincere nationalist revolutionary elements . . . . I have already written a pamphlet containing a popularised version of the programme we intend to put forward". (This was "What Do We Want?"). "I must tell you that this programme has been discussed by the people of world experience . . . . While trying to push the bourgeois leaders forward . . . . we should prepare for the organisation of the new revolutionary mass party which will enter the struggle with this programme . . . . All Communists and Socialists should attempt to form a mass party containing all the truly revolutionary elements. In order that many available revolutionary elements are not frightened away by the name, our party should have a 'non-offensive' name. We suggest, 'The People's Party' . . . . A legal apparatus of our activities is needed. The People's Party will provide this legal apparatus . . . . It is to be anticipated that no powerful political party with a Communist name will be tolerated by the Government and the latter will be able to count upon the moral and even active support of the native bourgeoisie in

prosecuting a Communist party. Hence the necessity of a dual organisation, one legal and another illegal. The Communist nuclues should take a very active part in the formation of a mass party for Revolutionary Nationalist struggle . . . ."

As was, however, only to be expected, each of the Indian 'centres' produced a separate scheme and it was some time before they could agree to combine.[62] Sampurnanand's 'Manifesto' has already been mentioned: it was sympathetically noticed in the 'Advance-Guard' of January 1st, 1923, Roy expressing general approval of it, as being on the right lines. Dange's 'Socialist Labour Party of India' has also been mentioned; but he does not seem to have made any progress with this: and was, in February, considering the formation of a 'Socialist-Swaraj Party' and the drawing up of a Manifesto outlining his proposals. A prominent labour agitator of Bengal, M. L. Sarkar, wrote to Dange about 'the new party you intend to form': "We should form a 'Democratic Labour Party' throughout India independently, with the object of spreading Socialism, of 'course suiting the requirements of our country. 'The real Socialism as advocated by the Red International Party, I am afraid, will not suit us at the present moment, although we must have it as our ideal and goal before us". Singaravelu continued to talk about the "Congress Communist Party" that he considered himself to have started at Gaya, and telegraphed to Azad Subhani, a Bombay politician who had produced a scheme of Swaraj, which had been widely published in the press and was Communistic in tone, aiming at complete independence without foreign control, "Congress Communist Party welcomes your Swaraj scheme . . . . parallel panchayat administration corresponding Soviet will realise people's Swaraj quickly": also stating, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Tamil Nadu Congress, held at Madura, January 22nd to 24th, that 'Congress should take up the work of organising labour and peasant movements and encourage strikes. If Congress were unable to do this, another organisation, under the rule of Labour, should be started in its place. If non-violent non-co-operation failed, other methods, including violence, should be employed to secure the freedom of India', and advocating Civil Disobedience 'on the lines of the Manifesto that he had circulated at Gaya'. In March, Mani Lal, a Behar[63] extremist, produced a 'Labour-Swaraj' manifesto, with proposals that included the 'abolition of Standing Army and Police and their replacement by voluntary conscription and by arming the

masses and organising the latter'. He sent a copy to the International Press correspondence, Berlin, another to Dange, and one to Ghulam Hussain at Lahore: Dange promised to discuss it with him and to offer criticisms and amendments, while Ghulam Hussain adopted it as it stood and proposed to make himself the leader of the Party whose formation it advocated. Finally, at the beginning of May, Singaravelu produced a Manifesto of his own, that of the 'Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan' the preamble of which, written in general terms of Communist theory, condemned the Congress and Swaraj Parties as capitalist institutions, and the All-India Trades Union authorities as bourgeois leaders, and refused to accept guidance from foreign agents, who were either misguided persons attempting to apply western methods to the East, or Government spies.

The Moscow Communist leaders were greatly dissatisfied at the proceedings of the Indian National Congress at Gaya, which had resulted in the decision to continue Non-co-operation and non-violence. They were reported to have declared that 'it had been proposed to organise large-scale action against the British in India during 1923', but the Gaya decisions had convinced the Russian leaders that the time was not yet ripe; and that further preparation, and reorganisation of the Soviet's 'Eastern propaganda apparatus' was necessary. Their first move in this direction, reported by the 'International Press correspondence' in January, was the decision to form a special Eastern Department of the Communist International, 'the head of which must be a member of the Presidium taking an active part in the entire work of the International'. Roy was also preparing a scheme for a [64]'Labour Information Bureau' in Berlin, to work in co-operation with Indian Trade Unions. This the Soviet authorities approved, and pressed Roy to lose no time in getting it in working order. Roy called a meeting of Russian, German and British Communists (including Newbold, M.P.) at Berlin: and explained that the proposed Bureau would establish legal connection between Indian and European labour organisations. He pressed for the co-operation of Saklatwala, the Communist M.P. for Battersea, on the ground that the latter was in touch with Chaman Lal, the Secretary of the All-India Trades Union Congress: and the British Communists present promised to try and arrange this. This 'Labour Information Bureau' began to function in February, at the end of which month letters from it were intercepted in India addressed to Indian newspapers and

containing a manifesto from the Presidium of the Congress of Factory Councils of Germany' to the All-India Trade Union Congress. This manifesto was reproduced in full by the 'Nation' (Lahore, Editor Chaman Lal) of February 23rd: in it 'the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat' offered 'friendship and class collaboration to the workers and peasants of India' in their 'historic struggle for national freedom'. The British Communists would seem also to have fulfilled their promise, since a labour organisation in England, dominated by Saklatwala and one Dr. Bhat, calling itself the 'Workers' Welfare League of India', was, early in 1923, attempting to form a 'Lascars' Welfare League', with the apparent intention of assisting Roy in his scheme for introducing literature, messengers and agents into India; and Chaman Lal wrote to Roy offering to supply a weekly bulletin on the Labour situation in India 'as required by you', and a foreign weekly letter—presumably for the 'Advance-Guard'. One Arthur Field, an Anglo-Muhammadan Communist, also wrote to Marmaduke Pickthall, the well-known Muhammadan pervert and writer, who was then[65] Editor of the 'Bombay Chronicle', and who replied "I will circulate the Communist resolution throughout India".

Roy, though concentrating on his scheme for a 'legal' party in India, did not neglect the parallel 'illegal' organisation, and was urgent in pressing for the attendance of the Indian Communists at his projected Berlin Conference, and in trying to improve the arrangements for the safe passage of his propaganda literature. He was in constant correspondence with his supporters in India. As already stated, he sent advance copies of the 'Humbert Droz' circular to Dange, Singaravelu and Muzaffar Ahmed on December 12th: in the covering letters to which he promised Dange 'detailed instructions and other aid . . . in a different way, I hope less unfortunate than the last'—the allusion being to Charles Ashleigh: and, to Muzaffar Ahmed, expressed disappointment that he had not yet started for Berlin, to attend the Conference, and urged him to recruit 'representatives from Bengal', who should be 'men connected with the Congress' and should include a Trades Union representative. In the letters written by Roy on December 19th, already mentioned—those in which he issued instructions consequent on the decisions of the IV Congress of the Communist International—he appointed Dange to be 'the centre' in India, and told 'Mahomed Siddiqi' (Ghulam Hussain) that he had heard from Mahomed Ali (Roy's Kabul

'centre') that Ghulam Hussain had written to him (Roy) to his cover address in Holland, but that he had not received the letter—all he received was Ghulam Hussain's 'reports, which have found their way to us by another route'. On January 31st, Roy wrote to Muzaffar Ahmed suggesting a method of arranging for money to be sent secretly to the latter by cable, and enclosing a circular of which copies were to be sent to Dange, Singaravelu and Ghulam Hussain:[66] with whom he was instructed, in a later letter, to get into personal touch. On February 18th, Roy warned Muzaffar Ahmed that Usmani would come to Calcutta to see him; but this he had already done, as a letter from Muzaffar Ahmed to Roy, of February 15th, informed Roy that Usmani had called on him on February 8th, and described the activity of the officials in intercepting Roy's literature, recommended the 'use of lascars' as a remedy, declared that some of Roy's associates in Europe were Government spies but added that, although Roy's 'old acquaintances' (the Bengal revolutionaries) were unreliable, 'the young generations of India are at our back . . . the only hope is that we would be able to convert the new generation very easily to the Communistic principles'. Roy was corresponding with some of the Bengal revolutionaries at the time—of both the Jugantar and Anushilan parties. He was trying to persuade them to undertake distribution of his propaganda and to translate, and publish in vernacular, his programme and pamphlets 'India's Problem and Its Solution' and 'What Do We Want?', especially the latter, under different titles and with 'any name' as that of the author, or anonymously. He offered to pay expenses on receiving an estimate. The revolutionaries, always ready to receive money from any source, were trying to persuade Roy to pay in advance, but he refused to make any payment except for actual work done—'It is not money that is needed, but sincere revolutionary workers'. It was Roy's intention to send Jotin Mitter to India, with the mission of getting in touch with 'the Calcutta Communists and the 'Dhumketu' group', as well as with Roy's 'centres', in India—Dange, Singaravelu, Ghulam Hussain, Usmani, etc; but his despatch was countermanded in the belief that Muzaffar Ahmed had left for Berlin. The force behind the 'Dhumketu', the revolutionary Bengal newspaper, was Bhupati Mazumdar: and Roy sent, to Muzaffar[67] Ahmed, £50 for Bhupati Mazumdar as well as £100 for himself and £50 as the expenses of a Trades Union representative—one Baidyanath Biswas, to whom Roy said that

he had written separately : while Muzaffar Ahmed, in March 1923, wrote to Roy "there is no fear of our work being hampered by your old friends" (the Bengal revolutionaries). "We could get much help from them. If help reaches our hand, one of them also might go" (to the Berlin Conference).

On February 1st *Usmani* wrote to Roy "the situation evinces a vivid tendency to mass violence—I assure you that we will not have many difficulties in our way". On February 8th, Usmani reported his arrival in Calcutta and his meeting with Muzaffar Ahmed, and said that 'Afzal and Akram have quite disappeared'. On March 9th, Roy wrote to Usmani "we have five centres to link up—the Dange group in Bombay, the 'Inqilab' group in Lahore, your people in the United Provinces, M (uzaffar) A (hmed) and Co. in Calcutta, the Singaravelu group in Madras". Usmani, writing to Roy on February 15th, speaks of spies and informers—"these plague germs be butchered in cold blood—yes, ruthlessly. No compromise, no mercy": and, on April 22nd, "Armed intervention is the last doctor who can save the Indian proletariat from the grave. None will rise unless at the support of foreign help . . . . Arouse and assault you win: arouse and rest you lose".

On December 25th (1922) Roy wrote to Dange mentioning the returned Muhajireen, four of whom were, he said, already in India, while seven more were on the way. "Shaukat Usmani writes me about you and says he is trying to get into touch with you. I have instructed him to work under your direction and get all our boys in touch with you. . . . Please get hold of these boys and have them work in concert . . . ." [68] On February 3rd Dange wrote to Roy telling him that he had turned the weekly 'Socialist' into a monthly: "it was done to avoid constant differences of opinion with the printer. As a newspaper I must conduct it in a more fiery way, which the printer would not risk". Roy replied on March 8th, approving of this decision, in the circumstances: saying that the last few issues of the 'Socialist' "cannot be called satisfactory . . . . but you were forced to do so . . . . Your explanation is quite satisfactory. Do not worry on that account. We know our own".

Dange, in the 'Socialist', and Ghulam Hussain in the 'Inqilab' had not been idle. The latter published, under different titles and over the name of a fictitious author, Urdu translation of 'India's Problem and Its Solution' (as 'The Political Struggle of India', stated to be 'a reprint of the series of



articles from the pen of M. N. Roy which have been appearing in the 'Inqilab' during November and December') and (somewhat expurgated) 'What Do We Want?', while 'India in Transition' was appearing in serial form, but was still incomplete when the 'Inqilab' suspended publication. Chaman Lal's newspaper, the 'Nation', also published a series of articles by Ghulam Hussain, entitled 'The Work Before Us', in which all Roy's arguments were used, practically *verbatim*. One of the last issues of Dange's Weekly 'Socialist' (January 13th) contained an article that might have come straight out of the 'Vanguard'—also entitled 'The Work Before Us'—being a detailed exposition of the Bolshevik 'cell' system. The first issue of the monthly 'Socialist' (February) printed 'a Programme of Marxism' by the Russian Communist Bucharin—apparently reprinted from the "International Press Correspondence", in which it had appeared not long before.

[69]Roy besides supplying literary material to the 'Socialist', asked Dange to send copies of his papers to the Russian Legation at Kabul, and tried to devise means to send money to Dange. Roy had received £2,000 from the Communist International, in February, for the journey expenses of the delegates from India to the proposed Berlin Conference: and, of this, he proposed to send £300 to Dange—a letter to the latter, from one of his supporters in India, was seen in censorship, inquiring whether he had received it. The Soviet had been obliged to cut down their Eastern expenditure, owing to pressing needs in the West: a Soviet statement, prepared in January, said that it had been intended to allot two million gold roubles for Eastern propaganda in 1923, the greater part of which was to have been expended in connection with work in India and Afghanistan; but it was found necessary to reduce this grant by half, a cash payment of 100,000 gold roubles being assigned by the Executive Committee of the Communist International 'for immediate necessities of the East': and instructions were issued for extra activity to cover the reduction in expenditure. Whether any of this cash actually reached India or not, it is impossible to say; but a number of Indian newspapers continued to preach communism: for example, the 'Servant' (Calcutta) on February 3rd, wrote 'India must join the International campaign. Her peasantry must be organised for Civil Disobedience to culminate in the non-payment of taxes. Government will then intervene to crush the movement, when the organised peasantry will rise and break their

fetters with one united effort of desperation': the Editor of the Calcutta weekly 'the Student' was in correspondence with Roy, who promised to send articles for the paper: the 'Khilafat Daily' (Bombay) printed sympathy with Bolshevism: Chaman Lal's paper, the 'nation' (Lahore) regularly reproduced Communist propaganda copied from European papers: the [70] 'Mahratta'. (Poona) of March 11th included an editorial emphasising the necessity of rousing the 'mass mind' and said that the masses must be spoken to in terms that they can understand—"it does not matter if some excesses, moral and social, are committed—the masses have had enough of passive suffering: what is now needed is virile strength of an aggressive character: the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' (Calcutta), 'Inqilab' (Lahore), 'Vartman' (Cawnpore) and 'Pranvir' (Nagpur—Editor Satya Bhakta) continued to preach Communism, while a Communist pamphlet in Hindi, by Satya Bhakta also appeared at Cawnpore: and the 'Hindu' (Madras) of April 3rd published a long letter from Roy in defence of his 'Program for the Indian National Congress', which had been attacked in a previous issue of the paper.

The publication by Reuter of Roy's 'Program', and the chorus of disapproval which greeted it, had apparently alarmed C. R. Das, who, in January, publicly receded from his pro-Communist attitude, since his latest scheme for Swaraj, in that month, laid down that 'the principle of private and individual property will be recognised, maintained and protected, and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable, will be permitted and encouraged'. Roy was quick to recognise the individual importance of C. R. Das: and on January 6th (1923) addressed a long letter to him (through an intermediary, Dr. T. N. Roy of Calcutta, a Glasgow College friend of Nalini Gupta, who was asked to deliver this 'very important and most confidential document yourself to the important personage addressed'). The letter referred to 'the revolutionary tune struck by you in the statement "we do not want Bourgeois Republic"' and continued "the problem which faces us to-day was formulated by yourself when you raised the question about the nature of the Swaraj we wanted. . . . Your pro[71] gramme will rally all the available revolutionary elements within and without the Congress, thus marking the beginning of the revolutionary mass party, which is the crying need of the day". Roy protested against Das switching off from his original idea of 'Swaraj for the masses' to Council entry—a 'question of secondary importance'—and begged him

to return to the right path, "the vital question which ought to have been placed before the Congress at Gaya. With this object I wrote the draft programme, which might have reached you. . . I hope you will let me know your opinion about the draft programme I prepared for the Gaya Congress as well as the pamphlet 'What Do We Want?' in which a popularised version of the programme of the new People's Party has been set forth". The letter closed with an invitation to 'consider a trip to Europe'. This letter formed the groundwork of a subsequent 'Open letter to Chittaranjan Das', a printed pamphlet published by Roy on February 3rd, large number of which were intercepted in the Indian post. The latter is, in many places, word for word the same as the former; and is, throughout, an adaptation of it. This letter appears to have produced some effect on C. R. Das; since, at the All-India Trade Union Congress, held at Lahore in March, over which he presided, he told the labouring classes that the country belonged to them and warned them that, should the middle classes succeed in winning Swaraj, it would still be necessary for the workers to wrest the power into their own hands. Several articles in the 'Vanguard' were also written to C. R. Das' address, of which the following are examples: (December 1st, 1922) "we have repeatedly said and still say that a premature resort to violent tactics may be playing into the hands of the enemy. But it is altogether erroneous to think that there can be such a thing as a 'a non-violent revolution', no matter how 'peculiar and abnormal' the situation in India may be." [72] (April 15th, 1923) "The struggle for national liberation stands in need of a new leadership. The struggle being essentially a revolutionary struggle, it demands a revolutionary leadership free from all those questionable theories about 'non-violence' and 'legitimacy'. We are no more in love with violence than Mr. Das. But we are realist enough to call a spade a spade. British dominion was not established in India by constitutional means; therefore it cannot be overthrown by constitutional means".

Roy's allies among the British Communists were meanwhile fulfilling their part. In February an 'Indian Seamen's Association' was formed in England, with Saklatwala as President, and was affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions. At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on March 11th, it was decided that R.I.L.U. literature, translated into the most important Indian vernaculars, should be given to members of the

Association for distribution all over the world. They addressed the Bengal Seamen's Union, urging the latter to support them and recommending affiliation to the R.I.L.U., 'the only organisation to which Indian labour can look for help'. One of its members, Ajoy Banerji, approached the British Communist Party for help to go to Moscow for a thorough training in Communism after which he proposed to go to India to work for the Communist International.

Other adherents of Roy were also active. Among the Indian revolutionaries in Afghanistan, who were expelled by the Amir in October 1922, were Obeidullah and Mahomed Ali (Khushi Mahomed). They reached Moscow in December, where Obeidullah claimed to have obtained full support from the Soviet Government. Mahomed Ali went on to Berlin, travelling on a Russian passport in the name of 'Ibrahim', arriving there in March. Roy was trying to obtain recognition from the Indian National Congress through [73] Obeidullah, whose Kabul Congress Committee had, as already noted, been sanctioned for affiliation to the Congress by the Executive Committee of the Congress. The leaders of the Ghadr Party, in America, were in communication with Roy and were considering work in co-operation with him; but were awaiting a report from Santokh Singh, their emissary to the IV Congress of the Communist International who had also attended the Second World Congress of the R.I.L.U., held in Moscow in November 1922, as 'a delegate from India'. Co-operation between the Ghadr Party and the 'Friends of Freedom for India' was attained by the adherence of B. K. Roy, from the latter, to the former. There was a formal meeting of the Ghadr Party to welcome him, at which he said that Russia, America, Italy and Turkey had secured freedom through revolution, and that India would have to do the same. In April, a joint letter from 'Raja' Mahendra Pratap and Rash Behari Bose, from Tokyo, was received by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, in which the writers announced the formation of a Committee in Japan to assist India in obtaining Swaraj.

In India itself, Roy sustained several set-backs. The trial of Roy's trained students, including the party which had come by the Pamir route, began at Peshawar in February: the United Provinces police indentified Usmani masquerading as 'Habib Ahmad', a master in the Muslim National School at Cawnpore: and, though he evaded arrest for the moment, the chase after him became hot: while Chaman Lal fell into disfavour with his

British Communist friends, Saklatwala writing to complain that Chaman Lall had obtained paper, for printing the 'Nation' from the 'Daily Herald', but refused to pay or to answer letters or cables on the subject. A new venture of Dange's the Indian Publicity Service, nominally directed by one T. V. Parvate, the object[74] of which was to obtain Bolshevik propaganda from abroad and circulate it to Indian newspapers, also failed to attract and was abandoned after three issues had been sent out with the result that only in one instance did any newspapers make use of it.

Propaganda from a new source—the 'International Working Men's Association', Berlin—appeared in India in February. A 'Press Bulletin' from this body was intercepted in the same cover with one of Roy's pamphlets; but it can hardly have been issued in collaboration with Roy, since, in announcing the formation, in Europe, of a 'Committee for spreading the knowledge of revolutionary Syndicalist principles in India', it described its adherents as opposed to the Communist International, and condemned the Bolsheviks as 'reactionary'!

Roy's principal rivals in Europe had also been busy. Barkatullah (who, as already stated, had joined Chattopadhyaya's party on arrival in Berlin) had, in October 1922, written from Berlin to Chicherin in Moscow, proposing that Raskolnikoff, the Bolshevik Minister in Kabul, should send an agent (Iqbal Shaidai) to Chamarkand, the headquarters of the 'extreme' section of the Hindustani Fanatics (the 'Mujahidden'), with instructions to form an active organisation there: to establish centres among all the Independent tribes and link them together by means of an Urdu newspaper, the policy of which would be an alliance between Soviet Russia, Afghanistan and (Nationalist) India on the one hand, and the tribes of the Indian frontier on the other. 'All the tribes from Chitral to Baluchistan should be prepared for rising simultaneously as one man against the British at a time of war'. Barkatullah also wrote to Iqbal Shaidai at Kabul—who, however, had been expelled from Afghanistan before the letter arrived—to the same effect, adding to his suggested programme the establishment of primary schools at the headquarters[75] of every Indian frontier tribe, and guaranteeing financial support from Soviet Russia. Monthly progress reports were to be sent to the 'India Independence Party', Berlin, through the Soviet Legation in Kabul. This organisation was actually started, and a considerable sum of money was found to finance it:

for a number of schools were set up in Independent Territory, and a newspaper, 'Al Mujahid' was printed with more or less regularity at Chamarkand. Barkatullah was in Lausanne at the beginning of December, preparing and having printed an anti-British circular for distribution to delegates to the Lausanne Conference. This circular appeared on December 11th and, on January 5th, the 'Independent' (Allahabad) reproduced it in full. It purported to be issued by the 'Executive Board of the India Independence Party'. The formation of this party was directly due to Chicherin, during his stay in Berlin after the Geneva Conference. Chattopadhyaya himself was excluded, at Chicherin's request, but all the other members of his party were included. Barkatullah was appointed President and B. N. Dutt General Secretary. Its programme included 'to attain complete and absolute independence of India by all possible means and to establish the Federated Democratic Republic in which the sovereignty must rest with the people: to form friendly alliances with the peoples and nations of the world: to extend co-operation and affiliation with all organisations in or outside India having similar objects and those having socio-economic revolutionary programmes'. In respect of its constitution and general aims this new Party embraces those of the old 'Indian Revolutionary Council'. (Chattopadhyaya's organisation, already mentioned). Chicherin had already, at Lausanne, informed Barkatullah that he accepted this programme and had asked Moscow to provide funds. Thus the Communist International added a second string to their bow, by supporting the revolutionary [76] Nationalism of the India Independence Party as well as Roy's 'Indian Communist Party'. With characteristic duplicity, they agreed to the despatch of Abani Mukerji to India on behalf of the 'India Independence Party' (Abani's own account of the facts was, that he had quarrelled with Roy because Roy 'only worked for gold, not from conviction': he himself thoroughly believed in Communism and the necessity for an Indian revolution, but objected to Roy: the dispute between them was laid before Lenin, who said he could not decide unless trustworthy investigation was held in India, whereupon Abani Mukerji was sent to India under the instructions of the Communist International) with a letter of recommendation signed by Barkatullah and B. N. Dutt, dated October 13th, 1922, stating that Abani Mukerji was a 'member and Joint Secretary of the Indian Committee for Russian relief' while, on practically the same date (October 2nd, 1922) they

issued an official warning against him, over the signature of Kuusinen, the Finnish member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, saying that 'Comrade M. N. Roy is the only person authorised by the Communist International to do Indian work', and that Abani Mukerji 'who was formerly working in the Executive Committee of the Communist International and is now in Berlin, is spreading all sorts of compromising stories against Comrades M. N. Roy and Evelyn Roy. He is also, in the name of the Communist International, attempting to secure the aid of some or other organisation to assist him to carry on Indian work. We hereby inform you that Mukerji has no connection with the Communist International whatsoever. We have absolutely no confidence in him and therefore we earnestly request you to have no dealing with him. We refute his insinuations against the Comrades Roys'. The 'India Independence Party' started a periodical of their own, 'Indian Independence', for which B. N. Dutt[77] and S. N. Kar were responsible. The first interception of this paper in India occurred in January 1923.

*'Mani Lal's Manifesto Party'.*—Abani Mukerji arrived in Calcutta on December 30th, 1922. Among his instructions from the 'India Independence Party' was, that he was to try to obtain recognition for them (in opposition to Roy) from the Indian National Congress: and, immediately on reaching India, he attended the Congress Session at Gaya, where he met Singaravelu, Dange, Mani Lal and others. He passed under various *aliases* the most commonly used of which was 'Charlu'. He collaborated with Mani Lal in the issue of the latter's 'Manifesto'. In a letter written to Ghulam Hussain in May 1923, Singaravelu said 'This, what you call Mani Lal's manifesto, was our draft manifesto originally framed by us some time in February last, and it was put in circulation among a few of us through Mani Lal'. This seems to have been correct, since when Mani Lal sent a copy of his 'manifesto' to Roy (and another to the 'International Press Correspondence') at the beginning of March, Roy wrote to say that it was plagiarised from Singaravelu: and Mani Lal originally described his manifesto as one 'from certain Indian labourites interested in Swarajya as a goal' which 'has my support and I recommend it to the public for favour of consideration and suggestions'. It was, however, printed by the 'Navayuga' (Guntur), March 18th and 25th. as 'by Dr. Mani Lal', and purported to be signed by 'the Textile Workers of India and the

Kishans of Northern India'. The manifesto, addressed to 'Indian Labourers and Peasants for organising a Party of their own', is Communistic in tone, but reasonably moderate. It proposes a Labour and Peasant Party of India': it upholds non-violence, but advocates 'abolition of the standing army and police. They are to be replaced by voluntary[78] conscription from suitable and willing elements of the people, and arming of the masses and organisation of militia'. It objects to domination by 'Bolsheviks', 'Intellectuals and spies', but declares 'we have nothing against the labour section of the Bolshevik movement' (presumably the R.I.L.U.) and refers to 'labour and peasant or Red India.' Roy detected the hand of Abani Mukerji in the Manifesto, in particular from the paragraph about domination by Bolsheviks, etc., but exonerated Mani Lal himself. Roy was aware of Abani's presence in India, and sent his supporters copies of the Communist International's warning against him: Muzaffar Ahmed, writing to Roy on February 1st, enclosed a draft letter from Abani Mukerji to Zinovieff, which he had managed to get hold of in original, accusing Roy and his chief supporters—Muzaffar Ahmed himself, Nalini Gupta, Jotin Mitter, Dr. T. N. Roy and others—of being swindlers. 'Charlu' (Abani Mukerji) received, in March, a letter from an unidentified individual signing himself 'Sudhansu', which acknowledged a copy of Mani Lal's manifesto and says he showed it to Upendra Nath Banerji (one of the Bengal revolutionaries) who showed it to C. R. Das and others, who approved it with certain modifications. The writer added that he himself was no believer in non-violence and that what he hoped to do was 'to prepare my brothers for that supreme moment' when violence would prevail; but he had no objection to assisting Mani Lal's Manifesto Party in the meanwhile, Upendra Nath Banerji wrote, at the same time, to 'Charlu', saying he had circulated Mani Lal's manifesto among friends, and had shown it to C. R. Das—"they are all favourably impressed": and added that he had Rs. 160 for 'Charlu'—"if you want it, let your long-haired friend know"—the reference is probably to Mani Lal—"and I will give it to him. I believe if you want passage home, our Benares friend" (perhaps[79] Usmani or Sampurnanand) "will be willing to give you money". In April, 'Charlu' asked for a certificate (either from Mani Lal or Singaravelu—the letter, as seen, had no address) that the addressee 'has every confidence in him' and that he 'is touring in connection with organising a Labour and Kishan Party



for India'. He expressed anxiety about his credentials—the letter, already mentioned, signed by Barkatullah and B. N. Dutt. and a certificate from the Communist International, dated June 1921, that Abani Mukerji was a *bonafide* delegate to the Third Congress of the Communist International.

Besides the copies of this 'Manifesto' that Mani Lal sent to Roy and the 'International Press Correspondence', he also sent copies to Dange, Singaravelu (who complained that it was a plagiarism), Ghulam Hussain and others. Dange, who had schemes of his own in preparation, temporised; but Ghulam Hussain adopted the idea enthusiastically, and, on April 27th, sent out a circular addressed to various 'Comrades' (signed by himself and his Assistant S. D. Hasan, the titular Editor of the 'Inqilab') calling a meeting at Lucknow for June 30th 'to organise Dr. Mani Lal's Manifesto Party'. He also sent a copy to Roy, who quoted from it in a long memorandum for the guidance of the proposed Conference—which, in fact, never took place. Extracts from the Memorandum follow: "Now we must adopt a Programme of Action—a Programme which will rally the working class in the present struggle against foreign domination and prepare them for the future struggle . . . This first victory gained, and the working class will be in a position to carry the revolutionary struggle further towards Labour Swaraj, which will have become realisable by that time . . . The only international proletarian organisation that stands unconditionally for the freedom of the subject people and the liberation of the working classes from class[80] domination is the Communist International. . . . Therefore I propose that the Central Executive Committee be entrusted by this conference to send as soon as possible a delegation of three to the Communist International . . . . The willingness, rather the eagerness of the Communist International to help the growth of a revolutionary working class party is well known. . . While believing firmly that legal existence is necessary for the growth of a mass party, I must urge upon you the necessity of an illegal apparatus which should be built as a parallel organisation . . . The Communist Party of India . . . should continue as the illegal apparatus of the legal mass party. . . The Communist Party will maintain its own press and the Vanguard will continue to be its central organ. In course of time it will have its illegal press inside the country. The question of co-ordinating legal and illegal activities and of building the two parallel organisations, one within the other, will

have to be discussed more fully in the Central Executive Committee and with the Executive of the Communist International . . . Of course, ours being a party of workers and peasants 'Land to the Peasant and Bread to the Worker' is the permanent slogan which embodies the essence of our programme . . . There are many among us who will still cling to the slogans of Non-cooperation even to the extent of adding the refrain of 'Non-violence'. . The best way will be to leave out of our programme the controversy of violence vs. non-violence . . . As a party of the workers and peasants we cannot help being revolutionaries. Economic emancipation of the exploited can only be attained by the 'expropriation of the exploiters' which cannot be done by peaceful and non-violent means. It is ridiculous to say that we are 'non-violent revolutionaries'. Such a breed cannot grow, even on the soil of India . . . The workers and peasants are to be organized, not to face suffering, but to develop the will and power to fight for[81] freedom. Therefore the term 'non-violence' negates all the essential principles upon which our party is based. It should be dropped from our programme. This will by no means commit us to premature violence . . . In conclusion, Comrades, I wish you success in the task you have undertaken and put myself at the service of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India". In this memorandum Roy suggested the formation of a 'Commission to elaborate the programme of the party' whose personnel should be Ghulam Hussain, Mani Lal, Singaravelu, Dange, Sampurnanand, Muzaffar Ahmed and Sunder Singh, the Akali 'leader'. It was dated June 5th, 1923.

Roy's memorandum was followed by a letter of congratulation 'to the First Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India,' dated June 14th, from the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International, signed by Kolarow (Member of the Executive Committee for the Balkan States). The letter concludes "The Communist International will render all assistance to the revolutionary party of the workers and peasants of India and warmly wishes you success in your efforts to form such a party which will lead the toilers of India to the final emancipation. Long live the National and Social emancipation of India! Down with British Imperialism! Long live the International Solidarity of the Proletariat!"

*Singaravelu's 'Labour and Kishan Party'.*—As stated above, Ghulam Hussain's 'Conference' never took place, as, before the date fixed for it, a new 'Party' had successfully superseded 'Mani

Lal's Manifesto Party'. The new Party was formed by Singaravelu, with the assistance of one M.P.T.Velayudham, the former being described as President, and the latter as Secretary, of the 'Central Committee of the Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan'. Singaravelu's assumption of the leadership was not[82] achieved without opposition. Dange at first intended to assume the leadership of 'Mani Lal's Manifesto Party' himself: for, in the 'Socialist' of April 23rd, (1923), after recommending a general strike as 'leading to an insurrection of the people and the taking over of the power of the State', he announced that 'the first Workers' and Peasants' Party Congress' could be held in July, the place and exact date to be specified later, and requested 'Comrades from all Provinces' to attend. But the issue, four days later, of the circular invitation from Ghulam Hussain and S. D. Hasan, took the wind out of his sails. Roy had also written to Muzaffar Ahmed, on May 15th, his suggestions for a new Party: but, as this letter did not arrive until after Singaravelu had captured the 'leadership', no separate move was made by the Bengal 'centre'. The letter gave Roy's ideas for Communist organization in India—"In the first place we shall have to organise small parties secretly among labourers and peasants in different places" (the Bolshevik 'cell' system) . . . "for the present work ought to be done secretly. But along with it an open party is also to be organised . . . This Party will be styled the 'People's Party' or 'Workers' and Peasants' Party' . . . As a matter of fact you will have to organise two parties side by side—firstly our Communist Party, but for the present to be a secret organisation . . . secondly the open 'Mass party' in which will have to be collected all the revolutionists and nationalists". The letter explained that open work was to concentrate on Nationalism, *i.e.*, the ejection of the British: and that the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be kept in the background, to be openly preached only after the first objective had been attained. It was in furtherance of these tactics that Roy's adherents in India combined to start the 'legal' party that finally crystallised into the 'Labour and Kishan Party'—a fact that was relied upon in the subsequent 'Bolshevik' trial at Cawnpore.

[83]Singaravelu's 'Manifesto', the preamble of which was practically identical with that of Mani Lal, put forward economic demands of a reasonably moderate nature. Its political programme included an administration of a Soviet character, with Panchayats for villages, towns, cities, Taluks and Provinces, in

ascending scale of importance, culminating in the 'Hindustan Panchayat', which was to constitute the 'Central Government', and as President of which Singaravelu signed the 'Manifesto'. It was also signed by Velayudham—both describing themselves as 'Indian Communist'. Accompanying the Manifesto was a 'Membership Card' and a set of rules of the Party. The card, which was to be signed by every member of the Party, included "I agree to surrender my right to private property as a matter of principle"—a pledge that was, later on, made use of by the the 'Punjab Section' of the Party, to their own advantage.

Ghulam Hussain surrendered to Singaravelu's 'leadership' without serious protest, and withdrew his invitation to his 'Conference': he also agreed to translate Singaravelu's Manifesto, membership card and rules into Urdu. In sending him copies, Singaravelu wrote "If you people mean to be Communists, here is the test—our manifesto, our rules, our programme, our tactics" [Singaravelu himself arranged for translations, (from English—the language in which they were originally issued) into Tamil and Malayalam, and also got them translated into Bengali.] Dange put up a better fight, mainly by the device of refusing to answer letters; but Singaravelu insisted that his 'Labour and Kishan Party' was the centre, and the others merely Provincial Branches: and this attitude was endorsed by Roy, who wrote to Dange (on May 7th), deposing him and enthroning Singaravelu—"I request you very urgently to get in touch with Singaravelu without delay . . . I am[84] convinced he is the best man available to be the figure head of the legal party . . . He provides us with an access into the ranks of the Congress which is very valuable." Roy also instructed Muzaffar Ahmed and Usmani to get in touch with Singaravelu, praising him to the former as a man 'who is working with the object of organizing a legal party' in India: while Usmani wrote to Singaravelu, 'by direction of Comrade R.' agreeing with his ideas and saying "I think this is the ripe time 'for striking the final blow' in India." The Communist International officially recognised Singaravelu's 'Labour and Kishan Party', writing "It is the duty of the Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan to assume the supreme lead of the struggle for national liberation and subsequently for social revolution". This was acknowledged, on Singaravelu's behalf, by Velayudham: who (together with one C. Krishnaswami) wrote to Roy, in July, "We introduce to you ourselves as members of the Central Committee of the Labour and Kishan Party, and

you may also have our official reply to the communication of the Executive of the Communist International to the Party": and also asked for the 'Vanguard' to be sent to an accommodation address in Madras.

Velayudham, in his capacity as Secretary, issued circulars on behalf of the Party: one of which called for periodical reports from 'Provincial Committees', and another announced that Mani Lal (Bihar and Orissa), Ghulam Hussain (Punjab) and R. C. Chowdry (Bengal) had been 'co-opted to the Central Committee'. Singaravelu himself also issued invitations to a Conference, but no one took any notice of these, and he wrote to Roy complaining of the fact. It would appear that Singaravelu despatched a copy of his Manifesto to Roy, but that it failed to reach him—it was not intercepted in India, but Roy was, at that time, having difficulties with the German[85] authorities about his accommodation addresses; for it was not till long afterwards (January 1924) that Roy wrote to Velayudham on the subject, saying that he had cracked up the manifesto in advance, on the faith of what he had been told about it, but that its actual receipt showed that he had been wrong: that Mani Lal's Manifesto was sent 'to some German comrades for publication', who brought it to him, when he at once recognised it as 'a forgery of Muk's' (Abani Mukerji) and denounced it; but, when Singaravelu's Manifesto reached him, much later, he found it was the same thing, especially 'the pernicious' denunciation of 'Bolshevik and Foreign agents'. If, said Roy, the Party disowns the Communist International, the latter will retaliate, and will find no money for Roy to send to the Party. He recognised that this clause was meant to 'give protection against imaginary government prosecution', but declared that it was inserted by 'an intriguing hand': and that the remedy was to send a delegation which would "discuss, draft a new Manifesto, elaborate the programme, arrange about the party press, organization, communication, etc. Then the delegation will return and call a large conference which will be the first Congress of our *legal party* (which cannot be Communist but will embrace revolutionary nationalist elements besides Socialist). The Conference will be held in France and our Pondicerry comrade" (R. C. L. Sharma, of whom presently) "will arrange passages: get in touch with him, S. D. Hasan, Dange (if he desires, which I am beginning to doubt) and Samburnanand of Benares."

In July, Singaravelu, Velayudham and Krishnaswami held a meeting of the Central Committee of the Labour and Kishan Party, at which it was decided to approach 'philanthropic gentlemen and institutions in India and abroad for donations'. Singaravelu gave an assurance that 'funds would be coming one day or another from foreign sources'.<sup>[86]</sup> The only sum that he is known to have received was £100, from (Roy's agent at) Amsterdam which reached him shortly after this, though he was insistent in his demands for more.

In June, Velayudham received a letter from the well-known Indian revolutionary, M. P. T. Acharya, who had joined the Revolutionary Syndicalists in Berlin, offering his adherence to the Labour and Kishan Party, but denouncing Roy and his adherents and claiming to belong to the 'Anti-Moscow Revolutionary European Labour Party.'

*Arrest of Roy's agents in India.*—After the identification of Usmani as the Cawnpore Schoolmaster 'Habib Ahmed', he evaded arrest by leaving for Calcutta, where he met Muzaffar Ahmed. His correspondence continued to be intercepted, including a letter to Dange in which he asked the latter to send him his (Persian) passport that he had left in Bombay with an Armenian named Khachik Hovanessian, and a letter from Roy (which was allowed to pass) announcing despatch of £25 to an accommodation address in Cawnpore. Usmani, aware that the chase after him was hot, went to Achenera, in the Agra District, and thence to Kalanaur in the Punjab, from where he came to Cawnpore to collect the £25 and was arrested. It seems likely that, but for his arrest, he would have left India on his Persian passport, after obtaining Roy's remittance. It had been intended to include Usmani in the trial of the returned Muhajirin at Peshawar, but he was arrested too late for this, as the trial had already concluded. He was, however, sent to Peshawar, where he was examined by the Police, to whom he made a statement. He declared himself to be a convinced Communist; and said that he had gone on Hijrat to Afghanistan and thence to Tashkend, where he had met Roy: that he had accompanied Roy to Moscow and had gone through a course in the 'revolutionary' school there: had returned to India with<sup>[87]</sup> money supplied by Roy, and had contributed articles to the 'Vanguard'.

It had been decided to await the arrest of Usmani before taking action against Roy's other agents in India: and, immediately after it had been effected, Muzaffar Ahmed and Ghulam

Hussain were also arrested, and all three were interned under Regulation III of 1818. Both protested their innocence, but Ghulam Hussain subsequently (in January 1924) admitted his guilt in a petition for mercy and, in March, made a formal statement before a Magistrate acknowledging his receipt of Bolshevik money (though urging, as an excuse, that he had spent it on himself and his friends, and not for the furtherance of Bolshevism) and giving details of his stay in Kabul and his relations with Mahomed Ali (Khushi Mahomed), Zafar Hasan, Obeidullah and Roy's agent Shafiq. In consideration of this confession, and his consent to give evidence against Shafiq, who had been arrested in Baluchistan in November 1923 and sent to Peshawar for trial, Ghulam Hussain was pardoned and released.

Roy was informed (by an anonymous letter from Calcutta) of the arrests, and made a protest against them in the 'Vanguard'. Evelyn Roy, writing (under her *nom-de-plume* of 'Santi Devi') in July to one of the Bengal revolutionaries, said "The recent anti-Communist work of the Government has dislocated our system of correspondence. Newer system is being constructed". On receiving news of the arrests, the Executive Committee of the Communist International instructed Roy (who had returned to Berlin from Moscow in July) to re-start his Labour Information Bureau, which had been allowed to lapse, for the publication of a bulletin of Indian labour for readers in Europe and America, and of European labour for readers in India. This did not actually materialise until March 1924, when Roy, with the Russian Communist Radek and the English Communist Newbold,[88] M.P., started an 'International Labour News Service', and sent out circulars explaining its object as the 'establishing of closer relations between the workers of Eastern countries and their comrades in Europe and America'. In August, Roy wrote to Swami Satya Dev, then in Berlin, saying that 'work had been seriously hampered' by the arrests of Usmani and Ghulam Hussain, but that, in general, he had been very successful in India: and claiming credit for the Cawnpore, Ahmedabad and Tata strikes. Chaman Lal's Lahore paper, the 'Nation', writing on the theme of Usmani's arrest, said 'what is known by the ignorant as Bolshevism has been one of the greatest boons bestowed upon humanity since the period which saw the rise of Christianity': and, on the same text, the 'Naved' (Bulandshahr, U.P.) wrote 'Nations grovelling in slavery under the Imperialist power of the British would naturally welcome the Bolsheviks

who promise liberty', and the 'Roznama-i-Khilafat' (Bombay) said, 'the Bolsheviks obviously wish to see all Eastern nations free from the clutches of European oppression': while similar articles appeared in a large number of newspapers—the 'Vartman', 'Vikram' and 'Parivartan' of the United Provinces, the 'Pranvir' of the Central Provinces, the 'Akali-te-Pardesi', of the Punjab, the 'Navayuga' of Madras, the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', the 'Ananda Bazar Patrika', the 'Atmasakti', the 'Sankha', the 'Yugantar' (a revival of the lately deceased 'Dhumketu') of Bengal and the 'Standard Bearer' of Chandernagore.

There were two other agents of Roy whose arrest was also desired—Nalini Gupta and R. C. L. Sharma.

*Nalini Gupta's* first visit, *viâ* Colombo, has already been mentioned. His second visit was *viâ* Persia. Information was received that he had reached Bushire and was expected to leave, by sea, about the middle of May. He arrived, undetected, at Karachi and left[89] by train for Bombay, where he saw Dange and his Glasgow friend K. B. Roy. His presence in Bombay first became known with certainty (after the event) by the interception of a cipher letter from Bushire addressed under cover to Dange. Dange was questioned about him and said that he had come to see him, representing himself as having come from Roy, but professed ignorance as to where he had gone on leaving Bombay. Later, letters from Roy to Nalini Gupta, under cover to K. B. Roy, were intercepted, and K. B. Roy was also interrogated. K. B. Roy said he had put Nalini up for two days in Bombay, in June: that he had subsequently received three letters intended for him, from the Continent of Europe, which he had forwarded, on the chance that they would reach Nalini, to another Glasgow friend of both, Dr. T. N. Roy of Calcutta—already mentioned as the intermediary for M. N. Roy's letter to C. R. Das. It was already known that M. N. Roy had received letters from Nalini Gupta and had arranged with Newbold, M.P., who had visited Roy in Berlin, to get £ 50 (in two instalments of £ 25 each) sent to Nalini from London. The first instalment reached K. B. Roy just before he was interrogated by the police, and he wrote to Dr. T. N. Roy to say so. The latter replied, telling him to send the money to him and adding "It will be of great help. We are all well and safe". On thinking the matter over, however, K. B. Roy decided to hand the money over the Police instead: and this he did. The cipher letters from Bushire contained nothing of special interest: they instructed Nalini to send



some 'trustworthy men' to help the writer, and promised assistance by Persian officials, including one very highly placed one: and specially enquired for news of one Mahomed Ali "Cantab" (graduate of Cambridge—so called to distinguish him from his more famous namesake, the younger, of the 'Ali Brothers'): they were signed 'Hassan', and the writer was afterwards[90] discovered to be R. A. Zakaria, a member of Mahendra Pratap's 'Provisional Government of India', who had, some time before, addressed to the famous Shaukat Ali a letter in cipher, the decipher of which had been read out by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in the course of a debate on the question of the charges under which Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali had been interned. Roy's letters, however, were of more importance. Two were intercepted, both written in Bengali. The first said he had written regularly to Nalini Gupta care of K. B. Roy, and had sent money by the same route; acknowledged a letter from Nalini, and added "The information contained in your letter is hopeful. I think we shall be able to do much work if new arrangements can be made". The letter wound up by expressing Roy's determination to have Abani Mukerji murdered if he should return to Germany. The second mentioned the non-arrival of a new recruit, whose despatch Nalini Gupta had evidently announced: and said that Nalini must send at least two first-class men for the coming Moscow Congress. "Make intimate relationship with the friend of the South" (R. C. L. Sharma). "He is watching even the old man of the said country" (Singaravelu). "Make connection with S. D. Hasan and Mani Lal".

Nalini Gupta was finally arrested in Bengal in January 1924. He admitted, in a statement made to the Police, his connection with Roy, but said he had used Roy's friends for his own purposes and had done nothing to forward Roy's propaganda. When he was originally despatched to India, one of his duties was said to be to give instructions in the preparation of bombs and explosives: and, though discredited at the time, this turned out to be true, from a subsequent statement made by Nalini after his conviction in the Cawnpore 'Bolshevik' case. In his statement to the Police, Nalini declared that Dange was connected with the Bengal revolutionaries, both the Calcutta[91] and Dacca parties, and that this connection had been brought about by Jiban Lal Chatterji, who visited Bombay and afterwards took Dange from Gaya Congress, to see Bhupen Dutt: also that, when Nalini saw

Dange in Bombay, Dange told him that the revolutionary party proposed to send men to Germany and Russia to learn the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

*R. C. L. Sharma* was an associate of well-known Bengal revolutionaries in 'revolutionary days', was suspected of revolver smuggling and was a 'voluntary printer' in the 'Yugantar' press in 1908. He migrated to the United Provinces and was convicted of sedition in 1909 and sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment. He was released in 1918, but, in July 1920, a warrant was issued against him for a seditious speech at Rohtak and he fled to Pondicherry. In 1921 he sued for pardon, offering to turn police informer 'as to movements of leading seditionists, among whom he moved freely', or to be employed in Afghanistan 'to report on the dissimulation of Bolshevik propaganda' in that country. As he was constitutionally incapable of playing straight, he was not employed: he is now deeply committed to M. N. Roy, but would doubtless sell him reasonably cheaply. When Usmani and the others were arrested, attempts were made to inveigle Sharma into British India, but he was too wary, and remained in the safe asylum of French India, so that it proved impossible to effect his arrest.

He began to correspond with Roy in January 1923, asking for copies of the 'Vanguard' and for books. In March he wrote to Roy saying that he had heard Roy was sending 'some friends to Pondicherry and that they were bringing arms. He deprecated, this, saying that they should come unarmed, since he was confident that he could get arms smuggled in as freight, and arm them later. In April he wrote to [92] say that the French post was absolutely safe and that he could receive books and papers in any quantity and smuggle them into British India. That he could not, at present, open a press, for the British had bribed the French authorities to pass a press Act; but that he could get Roy's pamphlets printed in English under a different title and with a different author's name. Roy realised that he had found a valuable recruit in Sharma, owing to his unassailable position in French India: and wrote to Muzaffar Ahmed, instructing him to get in touch with Sharma. After Muzaffar Ahmed's arrest, Roy appointed Jiban Lal Chatterji as Muzaffar Ahmed's successor, and Sharma started to write to him under a cover address, asking him to arrange an accommodation address at Chandernagore and recommending one Mukerji 'who was my jail comrade' as a likely assistant. In July Roy

wrote to Sharma, sending him a list of addresses and instructing him to send a copy to Singaravelu, who should be warned 'not to leave it about openly where the police might find it.' (This list, of persons to whom Roy's literature was to be sent, contained 65 names, 30 of which were marked as 'those with whom we are in connection and who can be trusted to receive and distribute bundles of literature': and four of these were cross marked as 'addresses very much watched—if possible they should be sent to somebody else to be delivered personally'). The letter went on to say that Roy would send 450 copies of the 'Vanguard' fortnightly to Sharma, for him to distribute, and instructed Sharma, to "endeavour by all means to get followers among the student body who will undertake the circulation of the paper among the rising generation". It informed Sharma that 'a messenger inside the country' (Nalini Gupta) had been instructed to communicate with him and might come to see him: said that a monthly courier was needed, whose expenses Roy would pay and who should travel either as a lascar or a stowaway: that he intended to set up[93] several presses in India, to print the 'Vanguard' locally, and asked if Sharma could run one of these: and requested 'a really safe address for sending secret matter'. Singaravelu was in correspondence with Sharma, and in July wrote to say that he intended to visit Pondicherry 'to see my relation' (a cousin, who combined the professions of Landing Agent and professional smuggler) and that, if Sharma 'has any message for me' (obviously from Roy), he would receive it in person. Roy, in September, sent Sharma five hundred francs, and wrote condemning "individual terrorism like that we practised in olden days. I am against it not because of any pacifist or moral inclination, but because of its utter futility. Since I do not believe in it and consider any terrorist action positively harmful to our work at the present stage, I did not pay any attention to your repeated requests for pistols. It was not advisable for you to have sent that cartridge in an ordinary letter. Anyhow, one can possess arms personally and I will, try to find the cartridges for you". The letter goes on to speak of Singaravelu as 'meaning well', but 'rather stupid and humbug', but that "he can be useful for agitation purposes and also for something else—you can use his smuggler relative as much as possible". A few days later, Roy wrote "Can you send someone (confidential to Dange and establish contact with him? By the next mail I will send you a letter for him. Please send a man with it if

you can. But be very careful in choosing the messenger". Sharma replied, giving as cover address that of a 'pharmacien' in Pondicherry "who is receiving cases of medicines—a very safe way of sending me any amount of anything: you can mark a box with X or \* in order to open the box in private time only . . . Even acids and explosives can be sent to his address safely packed, supported with hoop iron on the corners and nailed nicely, in strong wood". He suggested that he should go to Germany[94] to see Roy, if a *locum tenens* could be supplied: discussed methods of smuggling and proposed that Roy should order at least two motor cars, to ply for hire, to be built "with some spare space in the back body or with the petrol box, behind the car. . . the cars can be driven by our own men. I will not show any connection with this motoring business and thus the cars will go on, like many others in this town". He said that he was making arrangements with the Editor of a defunct Jhansi newspaper (the 'Utsah'), who had just been released from jail, to re-start his paper as a Communist organ: that Singaravelu had been to see him and might be coming again, but that he thought him too old for revolutionary work. "The letter for Mr. Dange is being sent under insured cover for Rs. 200. I have written to him for a private address". Dange wrote to Sharma acknowledging receipt of the insured letter and saying that he would 'hunt out a very private address'. The delivery of this letter was subsequently traced—it was insured for Rs. 150 (not 200) and was addressed to a cover address—one Joglekar, who succeeded Dange, after the latter's arrest, as Editor of the 'Socialist'.

*Events between the arrest and the Cawnpore trial.*—Roy's propaganda continued unabated. In May, he sent proofs of his new pamphlet, 'One Year of Non-co-operation' to a firm of publishers in Madras, for local publication—these were intercepted *en route*: the pamphlet, as printed in Europe, first appeared in India at the end of June. The 'Vanguard' of May 15th printed a telegram of greeting from the Presidium of the Communist International on the occasion of its first anniversary: and the paper continued to be violently inflammatory. Specimens (which could be multiplied to an almost indefinite extent) follow:—

March 15th.—'Manifesto of the Communist International on the Chawri Chaura Sentence'.—"To the workers of All Countries! . . . One hundred and seventy-[95] two men are to be executed in revenge for the death of 22 policemen who fell while

defending 'law and order'. The atrocity of this legal murder is unparalleled, even in the bloody history of British rule in India... The great majority of these condemnend men belong to the poor peasantry, which was driven to revolt under the unbearable burden of war taxation and unprecedently high prices . . . Save the lives of 172 Indian peasants, whose only crime was that they were hungry. . . Resort to direct action, in order to uphold the right of the subject peoples to revolt. . . The Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labour Unions."

August 15th.—"Supposing the ideal of Non-co-operation is reached, is it not taxing our imagination too much. . . that the Government will give in without any resistance? All experience of history shows that it will not. Consequently the movement enters upon a revolutionary period. What began as a constitutional movement leads up to armed insurrection. The clash of force generates violence. If the popular side sticks to the cult of Non-violence, the ruling power does not. It resorts to violence to put down the popular movement as soon as it has become dangerous. Then, there are only two ways: either the leadership of the popular movement capitulates and glorifies the defeat as a 'constitutional victory', or the movement passes over to the period of violent revolution, which measures its strength against that of the established order. . . There is no such thing as 'constitutional revolution', and the Indian struggle for freedom is a revolutionary struggle. It will never be successful without the final stage of violence."

September 15th.—"The heroic blood of revolutionary patriotism is up; but still it cannot go out of the grooves of class prejudice. Therefore it reverts to futile terrorism. In short, it chooses the path of terrorism[96] because it would not adopt truly revolutionary methods . . . . If the lower middle class want to avoid degeneration, into which they are sinking fast, revolution should be boldly faced: and it should be understood that *revolution is not conspiracy*. It is a great socio-political event which is never accomplished by means of some isolated assassination nor by dynamite. It requires the focussing of the energy of an entire class into a political party which fights under a programme which admits the inevitability of the eventual armed conflict with the established order".<sup>4</sup>

October 1st.—'Manifesto by the Communist Party of India'.—"Let us not repeat the past mistakes. Let us have a

more revolutionary outlook than hitherto possessed by our leaders. When in future we call for non-payment of taxes, let us really mean it. The masses this time will be ready to fight vigorously and more consciously. Let us not call a dead halt on such happenings as Chauri Chaura, for without such happenings we are not going to conquer the battle of Swaraj”.

November 15th.—“There are many who proclaim themselves as ‘non-violent revolutionaries’. One could just as well speak of a vegetarian tiger. . . . Premature violence is worse than non-violence . . . . in the present stage of our struggle it would be stupid to talk of violent action; but the tactical necessity of refraining from premature resort to violence does not impose on the movement the cult of pacifism . . . . If the movement for national freedom is to be carried to a victorious end, an armed conflict with those who profit by the political slavery of the Indian people is inevitable. It may come sooner or later, but it must come . . . . It is not required to be blood-thirsty. One need not preach the fertile cult of terrorism; but it is equally useless to entertain illusions. The people of India are engaged in a revolutionary struggle . . . . If [97]India will not have freedom conquered by violent means, she will have to go without it.”

Though Roy, in the above extracts, deprecated individual terrorism and premature violence, he was nevertheless in correspondence with the Bengal revolutionaries. In July ‘Santi Devi’ (Evelyn Roy) wrote to one of them saying that economic and industrial movements were futile and that the right method of work was to inspire the upper classes with the idea of the tyranny of the ‘usurpers’, which might “goad a few of them into fanaticism who will begin desultory acts of bloodshed. This will demoralise the Whites . . . . Let there be chaos: even that is better than the lifeless existence of the people”. (In an article on Gandhi which Evelyn Roy contributed to the September number of the English ‘Labour Monthly’—Editor an Indian, Palme Dutt—she wrote “to all honest revolutionaries who understand the real forces that underlie such great movements as the Russian and Indian revolutions, all talk about ‘spiritual warfare’ and the triumph of non-violence over violence is dismissed as the babble of children”.) In August it was reported that certain Bengal revolutionaries had written to Roy saying that they accepted his principles and intended to re-start terrorism: and, in July, that ‘the Revolutionary Section of the Swaraj Party’, headed by Upendra Nath Banerji and Subhas Chandra Bose, had

decided to send 12 'unsuspected' Bengali students to Germany for training in Bolshevik and revolutionary propaganda, to be financed by 'the Bolshevik party in Berlin'. It was, later, definitely discovered that some, at least, of these students had actually been despatched. In October, Roy wrote to Upendra Nath Banerji urging him to start a Bengali newspaper on the lines of the 'Atma Sakti', asking him to accept the position of Editor and promising to send a press through Germany and money to launch the enterprise. In this letter Roy emphasised the need for co-operation among all the real revolutionaries and for the [98]formation of a 'Mass Party' throughout the country. Roy also wrote to Sharma asking him to 'secure the co-operation' of U. N. Banerji—"we are old friends. He is the only one of the old party who is still worth anything. Through him you can try to reorganise the forces in Bengal": and, in a later letter, congratulated Sharma on having established relations with Upendra.

In the extracts from the 'Vanguard' just given, Roy deprecated 'premature violence' 'without proper preparation'; but he lost no opportunity of inculcating the eventual necessity of violence. In Roy's notice of Dange's book, 'Gandhi v. Lenin', he had urged the necessity for 'studies of revolutions past and present',—studies which he assisted in the pages of the 'Vanguard', in two successive numbers of which (August 15th and September 1st, 1923) he drew attention to the 'Lessons from History' of the Russian and other revolutions. "Much has been said to prove who is to be blamed for the collapse of the Non-co-operation movement, just after it had reached such mighty proportions towards the end of the 1921 . . . We maintain that there was a splendid opportunity for a national uprising, but this opportunity was missed, because there did not exist in the country a revolutionary party which could lead the masses to an offensive with courage and determination. One opportunity is lost; another will come again. But those who will prepare themselves for the coming opportunity should learn lessons from history, not only of our own movement, but of similar movements in other countries.

The second article said "Turning to some of the great revolutions of history, what do we find? The revolt of the North American Colonies against Britain is looked upon by the Indian nationalist as a great revolution. Well, American independence was not conquered in Philadelphia, but at Bunker Hill—not by

the vote of the people's representatives in Congress [99] assembled, but by the soldiers in the field. Austrian troops did not leave Italy because the followers of Cavour cast their votes against them, but because the troops of Garibaldi made it too hot for them. Cromwell did not send ballot boxes all over the country before he dissolved the parliament and chopped off the head of Charles I. It was not the democratic Girondins but the unconstitutional Jacobins that carried the French Revolution through. The Russian Revolution does not have the approbation of our Swarajists, so we need not say anything about it. Coming nearer home and to a situation which corresponds more to ours: the Grand National Assembly of Angora did not talk the Entente Imperialists out of Turkey. The armed Turkish people, which, by the way, had very little voice in that august assembly, did the job. British troops had to evacuate Ireland, not because the Sinn Feiners refused to take their seats in Westminster, but on account of the stubborn resistance of the Republican Army".

In July, improved and stricter methods of interception of Roy's propaganda were brought into force at Bombay, with immediate result, no less than 1,485 copies of the 'Vanguard' of June 1st being intercepted there, and 1,124 copies of the issue of June 15th.

Certain Indian newspapers continued to assist Roy's propaganda by publishing Communist and pro-Bolshevik articles. Among these was the 'Nasrat', of Lahore, a paper started by S. D. Hasan, in partnership with a prominent Railway Labour Agitator, M. A. Khan, after the decease of the 'Inqilab'. One article in this paper exhorted Indians 'to try and realise Communism' and said, "it is necessary to start newspapers and undertake the propaganda work on a large scale on behalf of Communism". Bernard Houghton, an *ex*-Indian Civilian in Burma, who while serving, had been notorious for his intolerance of 'the native'[100] and, after retirement, had become a peculiarly pestilent upholder of extreme Nationalism, sent two unusually objectionable pro-Bolshevik articles to India—one to the 'Navayuga' (Guntur, Editor, Krishna Rao, a correspondent of Roy's) and the other to the 'Swarajya' (Madras), and the 'Rangoon Mail'. The 'Navayuga' reproduced, in February 1924, 'An appeal of the First International Peasants' Conference at Moscow to the Poor Peasants of the Colonies', from the 'International Press Correspondence', under the heading 'Pariahs of the Colonies,



Unite!' 'Bande Mataram' and the 'Nation', both of Lahore, also preached Communism—the latter reprinting, verbatim and including Roy's editorial remarks, an article from the 'Vanguard' 'How India was ruined—the Basis of our Slavery, Karl Marx on British Rule', in September: and, in the same month, received a letter from the 'Vanguard' office, which said, "We have persisted and will persist, despite all obstacles, in our attempt to carry our message straight to the Indian people". In May, Evelyn Roy had sent an article to Chaman Lal (Editor of the 'Nation'), which she asked him to print: asking that, if he could not do so, he should send it on to Ghulam Hussain, for the 'Inqilab'. That Roy was assisting the 'Inqilab'—though whether pecuniarily or literarily is not clear from the phrase used—is shown by a letter sent by him to S. D. Hasan in October 1923—"it is too bad that the 'Inqilab' had to be suspended. I wonder what happened to the contribution we sent about three months ago". Personal eulogies of Roy also appeared in some of the Calcutta papers, e.g., the 'Sarathi', which wrote, in August, of 'the distinguished Bolshevik Manabendra Nath Roy—an assumed name; his real name is Narendra Nath Bhattacharya—now a distinguished Bolshevik leader and accepted by Lenin as one of his intimate associates. In the Revolutionary Era in Bengal, he was one of the leaders of the German Conspiracy and conspired to bring about revolution in Java, Siam, China, Japan,[101] America and India. Many people might differ from Manabendra's political views, but nevertheless admit that he is one whom we ought to glory over'. From glorification of Roy to that of his 'old friends' of 'the Revolutionary Era in Bengal' was a short step: and, in September, a regular campaign was instituted in the Calcutta press in honour of the anniversary of the death of Jatin Mukerji, who was killed in a pitched battle with the police near Balasore on September 9th. 1915, among the newspapers participating being the 'Swadesh', 'Servant', 'Ananda Bazar Patrika', 'Bande Mataram', 'Atma Sakti' and 'Sarathi', the latter also publishing a serial 'life of M. N. Roy'.

Satya Bhakta, the Editor of the 'Pranvir' of Nagpur, Central Provinces, published a Communist pamphlet in Hindi, 'Sram-jibioka Sandesh' ('a message to the Indian Proletariat'), which began by saying that the workers in Russia had succeeded in uprooting the monarchy and the capitalists, and went on to say that the duty of the Indian proletariat was to 'realise their actual condition and start their organisations to safeguard their own

rights, interests, and privileges'. It ended by announcing that 'the next tract will show how they should set about this'. This pamphlet was distributed in the mill area of the 24 Parganas, in September; having originally appeared in July. An anonymous pamphlet also appeared in October, emanating from Rawal Pindi and purporting to be issued by 'the English Communist Party in India'. It advocated, in violent terms, the expulsion of the British: its opening words being, 'Thrash, fell, expel and drive out'. Enquiry failed to discover its source or authorship.

Dange, who had been in communication with Usmani, and Muzaffar Ahmed before their arrest (under a cover address), had written to the former [to his Cawnpore *alias* of 'Habib' (Ahmed)] a letter that did not reach him owing to his arrest, in which he recommended 'openness'—"I have no hesitation[102] in being open. Openness is difficult to deal with in many respects": and, in July 1923, he wrote to Roy "I have taken the stand of open organiser. And as such I cannot go on with the illegal apparatus, for I am strictly watched". This letter mentioned that N(alini) G(upta) had been to see him and had told him that he came from Roy; but, as he had no credentials, Dange had not confided in him, a fact which he now regretted. In spite of his 'openness', Dange continued to adopt elaborate precautions for secrecy in his correspondence with Roy. In August, he complained that he could no longer obtain the 'Vanguard' and asked Roy to send him cuttings, in letter covers, of prohibited and proscribed publications, including his own: and also asked Roy to send him a printing press, with elaborate precautions for secrecy. In the same month, Arthur Field wrote to Dange from England "The May-June number of the 'Socialist' is very attractive . . . I am very glad to see that justice is done to Bolshevism, which seems to indicate that there is a change of heart or policy since your celebrated disclaimer of sympathy for Bolshevism." Early in 1924, Dange wrote to Field "I don't advocate violence, simply because it is not possible . . . The failure of the middle class intellectuals will create a revolutionary impetus". In October 1923, Dange wrote to Velayudham saying that it would take four months to make his new venture, the 'Labour Press', a paying concern—"till then, I have decided to remain silent absolutely": and, in that month, received a letter from Roy (apparently the letter forwarded under insured cover by Sharma) which said, "the letter will reach you through a perfectly safe and trustworthy channel, so I am writing openly of many things" and asked how

much money was needed for the 'Socialist' every month and whether Dange would prefer a suitable press or periodical financial contributions. In December, Dange received a formal notification from the 'International Press Correspondence' of its suspension under orders of the German Government. As a matter[103] of fact, the suspension only lasted about a month, after which the 'International Press Correspondence' reappeared from Vienna. In November, Dange wrote to Roy asking for names of firms in Leipzig and Hamburg that could supply paper 'for an English morning daily in Bombay': and, in December, S. D. Hasan wrote to Dange suggesting that the latter should issue a manifesto to all Congressmen, for the forthcoming annual Session at Coconada, giving the programme of 'the Socialist Party in India', in order to 'make use of the present loophole of the Congress disintegration'—the dispute between the Swarajists and the No-Changeers. In November, through the interception of a letter to Dange, the Bombay police got in touch with a sailor from a German vessel, the 'Trautenfels', who gave his name as F. Schmidt. A police officer successfully personated Dange, and Schmidt gave him three packets of Communist literature, which he said, had been given him by Roy—Schmidt inquired about political conditions in India, in particular about the possibility of disaffecting native troops: and said, "We can manage to send arms through, provided you can get in touch with men on the Frontier". Schmidt said, he had brought some arms with him, asked whether it was feasible to 'bring them out' and whether it was possible to store a large quantity of arms in Bombay. He seemed to be a man of education, superior to that of a common sailor: and, before he left, (an attempt to get him to 'bring out' his arms having proved unsuccessful) gave an address at Hamburg. In January 1924, three German sailors visited Dange, saying that they had been asked to do so by 'a man in Hamburg'; but said, they had never heard of Roy.

Roy had kept up a voluminous correspondence with Singaravelu, remarkably little of which had been intercepted. The reason for this became apparent when a notice appeared in the 'Hindu' (Madras) of August 25th, 1923, announcing that they had discovered that they were being used as an accommodation address [104] for Roy's correspondence with Singaravelu (though the actual names were not mentioned) and that they declined to accept the position any longer. As intercepted letter from Roy to Singaravelu, however, proved to be the same practically

*verbatim*, as one of a series of 'Political Letters to an Indian Communist Friend', signed 'X', which were appearing in the 'Vanguard', and which were afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet, by Roy, under the title 'Political Letters'—this pamphlet first appeared in India in June 1924. One of these letters ('Vanguard', June 1st, 1923), said "You are wrong in classifying us among those romantic revolutionaries who preach violence without having the slightest notion of the gravity involved in the question. We are not enamoured with the idea of violence as an idea. We are not militarists. But we are realists. That is all. We have never preached the use of indiscriminate violence. What we have done, still do, and always will do is to oppose the cult of non-violence, which is a dangerous cult and must be exposed in its true sinister significance . . . . If we are sincere in our profession of Labour Swaraj, we will be forced to demand a political status which will mock at all our silly talk about non-violence. Let me remind you again that we do not preach violence out of any love for it . . . . To define clearly that one political programme calls for the complete separation from all imperial connection and the establishment of a national republican government does not by any means lead to the committing of futile acts of terrorism or even to an immediate armed revolt." Another ('Vanguard' August 1st, 1923) says "The party that must be organised, the party of workers and peasants, will be the conscious vanguard of the Indian working class in its struggle, first for national, then for complete economic and social, liberation. . . *The economic freedom of the producing classes can be conquered only through a revolutionary struggle from beginning to end. . . .*"

In August 1923, Roy sent 1,000 francs to Switzerland for purchase of a printing press to be sent to an address[105] in Madras, the invoice being sent to Singaravelu. Singaravelu's lieutenant and 'Secretary', Velayudham, wrote to Dange and Mani Lal in September, telling the former "We have now got a press. We shall soon issue two journals, one in vernacular and one in English, fortnightly": and the latter "We shall now have our party organ 'Labourer' in vernacular and we shall soon issue a monthly gazette". In the same month, Singaravelu was accused of embezzling a sum of Rs. 16,000—his share of a subsidy of Rs. 30,000 granted by the Indian National Congress to Labour Unions in Madras, and defended himself by asserting that the

money 'was spent in consultation with responsible labour leaders', but without vouchsafing any details. He added "without foreign labour support Indian labourers cannot get salvation". On September 19th, Singaravelu cabled to Roy "Wire 250 sterling send press"; and at the same time wrote to Roy, saying that he had purchased a small press out of funds supplied 'from' (Roy's agent at) 'Amsterdam'—this was £100, which reached Singaravelu by cheque and repeated his telegraphic request for money and a larger press. He also wrote to Mani Lal saying that he had appealed to Roy to help Mani Lal: and informed Roy that arrangements had been made with Sharma (with whom he was in touch, both personally and by letter) to smuggle Roy's books to Singaravelu, who would have them translated, printed and secretly distributed. He had named his press 'the Labour and Kishan Press'.

Recent correspondence from Roy had shown dissatisfaction with Singaravelu and his 'Labour and Kishan Party', which, he thought, had proved another disillusion: and Roy suggested a fresh start by a new organisation, and the formation of a fresh Party, to be pushed at the annual Congress Session due to meet at Coconada in the Christmas week. These suggestions Roy put forward in the 'Vanguard': October 15th/November 1st—"Those revolutionary patriots who are not satisfied with the turn the Congress has taken at" (the special Session held at) Delhi, should not waste [106] their time in recrimination. Their slogan should be 'forward' . . . . They should invoke by all means those forces of revolution which were shunned by the Congress. The next step, therefore, is the organisation of a *People's Party* comprising all the exploited elements of our society. . . The national movement can be saved from the quagmire of pseudo-parliamentarism by the organization of a People's Party, which alone can revive the campaign of revolutionary non-co-operation. The mobilization of all the forces of national revolution within the fold of the new party can be realised by strenuously advocating a programme on the lines of that submitted by us to the Gaya Congress". January 1st, 1924—"National freedom can be won and will be won through a revolution which transcends the confines of the Council Chamber . . . . All available means are to be exploited to arouse the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people on the one hand, and to embarrass and discredit the government on the other . . . The Swaraj Party . . . is not in a position to lead the masses in the struggle. The failure of Non-co-

operation proves that a great mass movement requires a revolutionary leadership—a party that can offer such a leadership will therefore not prejudice the unity of the movement by its appearance; on the contrary, it will strengthen the movement and make for a solid united anti-imperialist front. Supported by popular agitation and mass demonstrations outside, the opposition or demands of the Swarajists inside the Councils will assume powerful appearance. The demands themselves can be dictated by the popular movement. Only resolutions will not do. Strikes, demonstrations and eventually insurrections will have to be organized. If the Government is sure that the rejection of even the most moderate demand of the Swarajists will not provoke any indignation outside, it will pay scant attention to their constitutional demands. On the other hand, if the Swarajists are sure that their demands will be backed up by the people, not by resolutions of the educated few but by militant action of the masses, they will be [107] vigorous in their demands. Thus a working alliance will be established between the two parties with their own programmes and methods of fight. Between the two, the national struggle as a whole will be pushed forward, and eventually the point will be reached where the front ranks will be occupied by revolutionaries”.

Singaravelu was aware of this and was anxious to regain Roy's confidence. In November, he asked one of his friends to write privately to Roy telling him 'what a sincere worker I am.' In December he wrote to Roy demanding money, saying that 'spasmodic help' was useless, that he expected Roy's 'next contribution' (the first having been the 'Amsterdam' £100), 'before the year is out'. and asking for a regular subsidy from the Communist International. Singaravelu's paper, the 'Labour Kishan Gazette,' appeared in January 1924: in which month, Velayudham wrote to Roy saying funds were urgently needed to continue it "if is possible for you to recommend some financial help, please do so at once, by at least wiring a draft to some bank here": and Singaravelu wrote to M. L. Sarkar, "we are writing to our friends abroad to send us some help". In February, Singaravelu, finding himself pressed by his creditors for money due on account of his Gazette, again appealed to Roy for funds—"You do not understand how much we could have done in the Cocanada Congress, if we had only a little money to take some delegates with us. Our journals are unique of their kind and are catching the people wonderfully, but for some time we cannot

expect paying members. . . We are now giving you an ultimatum. You must wire at least £250 or wire that nothing can be sent”.

In November 1923, R. C. L. Sharma received a letter from Marseilles announcing the despatch of ‘goods’ to his accommodation address in Pondicherry—probably the promised printing press. Early in December, the ‘Vanguard’ and ‘International Press Correspondence’ [108] were proscribed by the French authorities in Pondicherry, who confiscated a trunk full of Bolshevik literature addressed to one of Sharma’s accommodation addresses and, along with it, a long list of addressees of persons to whom it was to be distributed. It has already been stated that Sharma had offered to go and visit Roy if the latter could arrange for a *locum tenens* in Pondicherry. Roy selected, for this purpose Khushi Mahomed *alias* Mohamed Ali *alias* Ibrahim, and despatched him on a Persian passport, under a fresh *alias*, ‘Sepassi’. He arrived in Pondicherry early in January, bringing money from Roy, which he gave to Sharma: and, expressed his intention to send out emissaries to visit Communists in various parts of India. The Pondicherry authorities, however, served a notice on him to quit French India: and he left (for Djibouti) on February 25th. Sharma was also threatened with deportation, but managed to avoid it: he was, however, removed from Pondicherry itself and interned in a small village at some distance from the port. Immediately after hearing of ‘Sepassi’s’ threatened deportation, Roy wrote to him expressing the hope that he would be able to avoid it, saying that he had sent £100 to Sharma’s ‘pharmacien’, was sending £100 to Sharma’s lawyer, and that ‘a third instalment will go next mail’. ‘If Pondicherry does not prove as good as we expected, that is, if the importation of our goods cannot be done freely, then other arrangements should be made. There are two ways (1) to organise illegal printing in India (2) to organise points in large ports, Bombay, Colombo, Madras and Calcutta—one man should be posted at each port to establish illegal lines of communication with here. . . We must spend some money on this. . . have a number of workers on regular payroll. . . We must take up the matter of illegal press seriously, since it will not be possible to send much literature from outside. If the scheme of setting up a press in Pondicherry does not work out as well as we had hoped, we must try in some big city. A press can be started on [109] business basis and our own printing done secretly by our own men’.

The same letter also referred to ‘The Volunteer movement

headed by Dr. Hardikar and Jawaharlal' which "is heading towards Sinn Feinism (Irish Republican Army). It is a hopeful sign. We should get in and encourage. Try to get in contact with it. Perhaps Sampurnanand can be used to approach Jawaharlal. Then Kitchlew we must get hold of. Can you not have him down and have a serious talk?" The 'Vanguard' of November 15th, 1923, had contained an article on 'Jawaharlal's Speech'—"... but the soul of real India, that is the majority who toil and starve, will be stirred to action not by the reactionary pacifism of Gandhi nor by the nationalist jingoism of Mussolini; it will only respond to the little known but much maligned programme of Bolshevism, that is, a programme which will stand for the economic liberation and social emancipation of the toiling masses. India will be free only through the conscious action of those potential followers of Bolshevism. Many a river of blood will have to be traversed and many a tenet of reactionary nationalism will have to be forgotten before that goal is realised": and Jawahir Lal Nehru wrote to Sampurnanand, on April 25th, 1923, in reply to a letter which, he said, "touched upon a most difficult problem and yet a problem which has to be faced. 'We want a more revolutionary programme'. I wholly agree. But what is it to be? Let us remember that most people like to talk of revolution and direct action but they have no desire to participate in it. Those of us who really believe in direct action must stick to it and keep the ideal before the public. If you have any specific notions, do write to me".

Roy's letter to 'Sepassi' included a list of 538 addresses in India to which the 'Vanguard' should be distributed, and asked him to ascertain how far the persons mentioned in the list, sympathised with the [110] Communist movement and to deal only with those really interested. The letter was addressed through Sharma who, though it arrived before 'Sepassi' left, characteristically kept it to himself until after he had done so.

Roy, writing in March to a correspondent in Southern India, described 'Sepassi's' expulsion from Pondicherry as 'a hard blow, because we have greatly benefited by the Pondicherry base'. He said, it had been intended to set up a press there 'which must have already reached'. That the continued circulation of the 'Vanguard' was vital, and that what was needed was 'a number of safe addresses where boxes or bundles of the paper can be sent, a comrade in Bombay who can take from the hand of Indian sailors', and addresses all over the country to whom copies



can be sent 'Direct in letters which will reach safely': that he had "helped the Labour and Kishan Party to start a press which has not been of any use to us. We are not in a position to repeat that". He suggested that the press sent to Pondicherry should be transferred to British India and used there 'for printing our literature and to reprint the 'Vanguard' secretly', also to publish 'a legal paper in English' which would be conducted on much the same lines as the 'Vanguard': demanded the despatch of delegates and urged the undertaking of a tour throughout India 'to establish close relations with elements that sympathise with our views'. Sharma, writing to Roy in the same month, complained of the activity of the French police, who had stopped some of his cover addresses: mentioned that Velayudham had resigned (he had been offered a post on a Madras newspaper, which he had accepted as seeming likely to offer a better chance of a living than Roy's unfulfilled promises of financial support) but that 'he will not work against us': declared that he was in a position to get an unlimited number of men, so the work would not suffer: stated that he had got one young man for training purposes and was expecting[111] another from the United Provinces—and, in a letter written a week later, acknowledged receipt of a £100 note, out of which he had sent Rs. 500 to the Editor of the 'Utsah', at Jhansi (this was intercepted and never reached the addressee) and had spent Rs. 368 'for flattery', acknowledged receipt of a printing press, said he proposed to buy a typewriter 'to avoid the identification of my handwriting', and added that the French police had decided to open all boxes arriving for Indian merchants, so he was arranging to use European merchants instead.

In November 1923 the Assistant Secretary of the 'Bengal-Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union' wrote to Roy from Kharagpur thanking him for despatch of the 'Vanguard' and asking for literary contributions for the Union's monthly magazine: and, in March 1924, the same official again wrote, acknowledging receipt of a copy of Roy's 'International Labour News Service' and agreeing to exchange their respective publications. The All-India Trade Union Congress was announced to be held in Calcutta in March: and, in February, Singaravelu wrote to M. L. Sarkar and Mani Lal, asking them to meet him in Bombay and 'study the situation', with special reference to the Bombay mill strikes: and Singaravelu, Dange, M. L. Sarkar and others issued an appeal for funds to meet the expenses of the Congress

—“A vigorous and persistent propaganda must be continued among all sections of the labouring population of the country”. Singaravelu was nominated as President of the Trades Union Congress and actually received a majority of the votes, but these were subsequently gerrymandered and he was not elected. Roy wrote to him, in January 1924, recommending, in case Singaravelu should be elected President, the issue of a manifesto ‘giving a new lead to the Trade Union Congress’, to which the Labour and Kishan Party should declare its adhesion. “Your sudden turn to the Trades Union Congress will be explained by your stating that you did not join it before[112] because you considered it a nominal body; now you notice the growth of a new spirit which makes for a real movement”. Roy also wrote to M. L. Sarkar, in February, asking that the contents of his letter should be communicated to the Reception Committee of the All-India Trades Union Congress. The letter urged Indian labour leaders to send delegates to ‘International Congresses convened and conducted by workers in their own interests. The Trades Union Congress should become a true working class organization which will reach its goal only through the thorny path of revolution’. In January, Saklatwala, M.P., had also written to M. L. Sarkar, enclosing a copy of the ‘Vanguard’. In August 1923, the Red International of Labour Unions sent to the Bengal Trades Union Federation a copy (in Russian) of the message ‘to the striking mill-workers of Almadobeda’ (Ahmedabad) greeting ‘the heroic struggle of our brothers and colleagues, the textile workers of Almadobeda’ and expressing the belief that ‘they will, after having entered on a general strike in fighting capitalism, in the future continue on to the path of militant revolutionism’: and, in March 1924, the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. wrote to the All-India Trades Union Congress urging affiliation—the letter was signed by George Hardy, the well-known Communist and friend of Roy—and Dr. Bhat wrote to Arthur Field saying that he had written to the Secretary of the All-India Trades Union Congress expressing the hope that the Congress will ‘save itself from being Amsterdammed’ [affiliated to the Second (Amsterdam) International].

In England, Saklatwala’s ‘Indian Seamen’s Association’ had changed its name to the ‘International Oriental Seafarers’ Union’, of which, in May 1923, the Red International of Labour Unions instructed Saklatwala to ‘make full use as a Communist propaganda organisation’, promising to have International Oriental

Seafarers' Union papers and pamphlets printed free in Hamburg: and Roy, writing to[113] Ajoy Banerji, one of the officials of the International Oriental Seafarers' Union; in June, repeated this offer—suggesting that an Urdu lascar's paper should be published in Hamburg and undertaking to bear the entire cost. Probably as a result of this, leaflets printed in Urdu and English an 'Appeal to the Indian lascars' were distributed at Hamburg to the crew of a British ship from Rangoon, and the crew were harangued by 'an Indian named Ibrahim' (Khushi Mahomed *alias* Mahomed Ali, *alias* Sepassi of Pondicherry). The 'appeal' demanded equal wages with white sailors and said 'we cannot make this demand unless we are organised first into an Indian Seamen's Union and then into an International Seamen's Union'. This was reported by lascars returned from voyages to Europe, as a result of inquiries instituted in consequence of the interception, in May, of a letter from Roy to Muzaffar Ahmed, giving the name of a British India steward 'who would help' in the matter of 'goods'. It appeared that lascars had been approached by Indians, including some Bengalis, at Rotterdam as well as well as Hamburg, and were treated to lectures on British oppression in India and the advantages that would accrue from a rebellion such as that which overthrew the Czar in Russia. In September 1923 Roy made a tour which embraced Zurich, Marseilles, Paris, Genoa and Amsterdam, with the double purpose of finding a new base for the production of the 'Vanguard' and of enlisting the co-operation of local Communist parties to help him in sending propaganda literature to India by the hand of sailors, who would also receive letters for him from India. His conclusion, as regards the latter enquiry, was that Marseilles, whence ships sailed direct for India, would be a better base than German or Dutch ports, whence ships went to India *via* British ports, and where lascars, especially lascars on French boats, could be effectively utilised. He decided to send an agent to Marseilles and in October, claimed that the Messageries Maritimes[114] and the P. and O., were carrying literature to India 'safely and regularly' *via* Colombo and thence direct to Pondicherry, the shipments being arranged by a French communist at Marseilles. He complained, however, that there were as yet 'no reliable comrades' at Colombo or Rangoon. In January 1924, a Committee was appointed in London by the 'Young Communist League' to get in touch with Indian students and spread Communist ideas among them: also to undertake propaganda among Indian crews.

As regards the former enquiry, he decided on Switzerland or France, in case the Germans fulfilled their threat to expel him from Germany and to prohibit the publication of the 'Vanguard' there. This actually happened in January 1924, when Roy left for Switzerland, where he obtained a '*permis de sejour*' for four months at Geneva, and had the 'Vanguard' published at Zurich, whence he shifted it, later, to Annecy, Haute Savoie, France—not far from Geneva: his agent in Marseilles continuing to arrange for the 'Vanguard', and packages of Roy's literature, to be despatched from that port. In March, Roy went to Moscow, to attend the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. Before doing so, he wrote to S. D. Hasan, instructing him to write to his 'publisher' at Zurich, Dr. Hitz Bey, but telling him not to mention the 'Vanguard'. S. D. Hasan was urged to arrange for the despatch of delegates for Roy's 'Conference—they should get work on ships, or come illegally with the help of serangs: "we have met many Indian serangs in European ports, who offered to render such help." Roy recommended S. D. Hasan to come to Europe *via* Persia, taking another name in Persia, in which he could return; and impressed upon him that the circulation of the 'Vanguard' was a matter of the first importance—"it is our central organ and any paper started in India must take direction from it".

In December 1923 a number of letters from Roy were intercepted in India, enclosing specimens of [115] 'Sticker Stamps', to be sold, at two annas each, for the 'International Committee for Red Aid', in relief of Communists persecuted by Imperialist Governments, and half the proceeds to be sent to him, the other half being retained, by the seller, "with your local Committee for the direct relief of political prisoners in India". The stamps were to be sold 'among revolutionary circles and organizations'; and Roy explained that he had undertaken their sale in India 'as representative of the Communist Party in India'. "British Imperialism was never more arrogant than now, when the revolutionary proletarian movement finds itself momentarily strangled. Amid the despair of revolutionary hearts, one beacon light burns clear. The first revolutionary party of workers and peasants of Soviet Russia still stands like a rock and sends forth her challenge to tyranny and despotism wherever it exists". Among the addresses of this circular, with samples of the 'Sticker Stamps' was Singaravelu.

In October 1923 it was reported that one Fateh Mahomed, uncle of Ghulam Hussain and co-adjutor of the latter in his

'Inqilab' venture, was intending to go to Russia, was receiving the 'Vanguard' from Pondicherry and visits from emissaries from Afghanistan, who came to him *via* Chamarkand and Kashmir. Fateh Mahomed received an Urdu letter from Berlin in May 1923, apparently written at Roy's dictation and promising the despatch of money: and was one of the 'marked' addresses in Roy's list sent to Sharma as 'persons with whom we are in communication', etc. One Roy Bankim Chandra Banerji, a former friend of Roy in Berlin, returned to India towards the end of 1923: and, in March 1924, wrote to a friend in Leeds, saying "while in Germany, Mr. Roy asked me whether I could arrange to get some young men, who are ready to go over to Russia for training. Since my return to this country I have been trying in that direction and have been able to get[116] some really good man, who will be very glad to have a training in village organisation and Trade Union organisation and also in the military line if possible. Please let me know if arrangements could be made to take these young men over there."

Before he left Berlin, Roy met some visitors from India—in particular, Dip Narayan Singh and his wife, and Swami Satya Dev. Both had been refused passports for Germany, but neither found the least difficulty in getting there. Dip Narayan Singh had an eight hour interview with Roy on May 20th, and a meeting was held, the next day, to welcome him and his wife. He was introduced as a 'secret representative of the Indian National Congress', and said that he had come to Berlin with a definite plan which he was not at liberty to divulge: he wished to hear the views of the different political institutions abroad, for report to the Indian National Congress. A few days later, Dip Narayan Singh was introduced to Radek. Roy said that he proposed to go to Moscow about the middle of June and suggested that Dip Narayan Singh should accompany him, as a 'representative from the Indian National Congress going to Russia to study Communism', and, incidentally, as evidence of the success in India of Roy's propaganda. He did not go to Russia, but returned, with his wife, to India in November. He is said to have stated, on return, that he had foregathered with many prominent Indian revolutionaries in Berlin and that his Congress mission was to 'affiliate the branches of the Congress in foreign countries'. Swami Satya Dev arrived in Berlin on July 14th, and had an interview with Roy, to whom he is said to have brought messages from Singaravelu. A report received from London, in May

1924, said that 'some months ago', two Indians purchased a number of automatic pistol in Paris and left instructions that they were to be sent to Marseilles. One of these Indians gave the name of 'S. Deves' : Swami Satya [117] Dev arrived in Bombay on March 5th from Paris *via* Marseilles, travelling under the name of 'S. Deves.'

'Raja' Mahendra Pratap arrived in Kabul on September 2nd, 1923. On his way back from China he had visited Moscow, where he interviewed Chicherin and undertook to 'use his personal influence with the Amir to secure his sympathies with the revolutionary cause'. Shortly after his arrival in Kabul, Mahendra Pratap claimed that he had succeeded in this attempt and that he had secured permission for the Indian revolutionaries to return to Kabul "where they will be welcome," that he had organised a Bolshevik centre in Kabul and had sent Bolshevik funds to the Mujahirin on the Frontier. His return to Kabul certainly coincided with a notable increase of Bolshevik propaganda in the Afghan press. In January 1924, the 'Brooklyn Eagle' said that 'the Rajah of Mahendra Pratap' had written to say that he had appealed to the Angora Government to hold itself in readiness for a revolution in India, "which the attacks on the Sikhs will bring about in the near future." Mahendra Pratap wrote a number of more or less objectionable letters to Indian newspapers, including one in which he said "I am at war with Englishmen as long as they are in India. It is impossible for me to live under such a cruel Government". He notified Rash Behari Bose, by cable, of his arrival in Kabul. Rash Behari (who, on the arrest of Muzaffar Ahmed, had written to a Bengal revolutionary to say that he had heard of 'the arrest of my old friends,' and that 'organisation and discipline should be our slogan at present'), wrote in March 1924, to a friend at Chandernagore saying that he had been naturalised as a Japanese.

In August 1923, Iqbal Shaidai, who had been expelled from Kabul with the other Indian revolutionaries in October 1922, made a statement, in the course of which he said that he had been originally deputed to Kabul to get into touch with Russians and [118] Afghans, and that, in 1921-22, the Soviet Government had sent £30,000 to Kabul for Indian revolutionary propaganda; that a good deal of this money was misappropriated by Mahomed Ali (Khushi Mahomed) who forged receipts, including some of Mota Singh and some of Iqbal Shaidai himself; that Mota Singh, however, actually received £12,000, while

£1,000 was sent to the Babbar Akalis and £2,000 to certain Pir's in Sind; and that the latter, who were under the influence of the well-known Khilafat extremist Abul Kalam Azad, were in direct communication with the Mujahirin at Chamarkand.

The Ghadr Party emissaries to the IV Congress of the Communist International, Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh, left for India in May 1923, under instructions to go *via* Persia, and 'financed to a moderate extent' by the Communist International. Santokh Singh, however, attempted to return *via* Afghanistan, and was arrested in Independent territory, under an assumed name, while trying to do so. The Ghadr Party had also deputed one Mit Singh, with a considerable sum of money, to the Akali Sikhs direct: he was appointed a 'Jathedar' at Muktesar, and was arrested, tried and sentenced in the Akali Conspiracy case at Lahore.

In America, B. K. Roy (who had joined the Ghadr Party from the 'Friends of Freedom for India') started a newspaper in New York, the 'New Orient,' with money supplied to him by M. N. Roy. In November 1923, he contributed, to the New York 'Nation', an article on the Nabha troubles, which was reproduced in the Indian press, in the course of which he wrote "The Babbar Akali Sikhs have already challenged the alleged supremacy of British rule in India—Led by the patriotic ex-soldiers of the British Army in India, they have started guerilla warfare . . . the British have declared martial law in these districts." The New York 'Irish American' described B. K. Roy as the 'Envoy of the Sikh movement for Freedom[119] in India' and printed an interview with him, in which he was represented as saying that "the country, specially the Punjab, is arming. They don't know where we are getting the arms, but we are getting them". In October 1923 Taraknath Das resigned from the 'Friends of Freedom for India' and started an 'American News Service', copies of which reached India. One said that 'India must take a lesson from Russian policy and must not depend upon outside aid'.

Chattopadhyaya, in Berlin, received 'a handsome donation' from Dip Narayan Singh for his 'Indian Students Bureau;' in spite of which he was obliged to close it, early in 1924, for lack of funds. A few months later, however, he secured financial backing from a German friend, and reopened his Bureau. In March 1924, it was reported that Chattopadhyaya had been approached, on behalf of some of the revolutionary leaders in

Bengal, through his sister Sarojini Naidu, as to whether he could make regular arrangements to smuggle arms into India; and that he had replied that he was consulting his friends and would want fifteen lakhs of rupees. In June 1923, Obeidullah wrote from Petrograd to B. N. Dutt accepting membership of the 'India Independence Party' and agreeing to work in its interests in Russia; but by this time B. N. Dutt, who had already handed over to Chattopadhyaya the charge of the Student Department of the Indian Information Bureau in order to leave himself free to devote all his attention to the production of the newspaper 'Indian Independence', (for which he had received from Dip Narayan Singh, a promise of assistance out of Indian Congress funds) had definitely broken with Chattopadhyaya and started a party of his own. In July he sent an emissary to India to try and obtain money from the Bengal revolutionaries and (in fulfilment of Dip Narayn Singh's promise) from the Indian National Congress; and this individual said that there were three parties in[120] Berlin, those of Roy, Chattopadhyaya and B. N. Dutt, the former being Communist both the latter revolutionary; but that, while Chattopadhyaya was prepared to accept foreign assistance, Dutt was not. The 'Hitavadi' (Calcutta) of August 17th printed a long letter from B. N. Dutt, which included the following: "The International Revolutionary masses want to unify their aims with those of the people of India, because the aim of the labourers of the world is one and the same political and economic freedom. . . If the masses are to be incited to Swaraj, they will have also to be emancipated. The object of nationalism is to incite our poor and illiterate masses and, driving away the English bureaucracy, to establish the rule of the indigneous bureaucracy. . . When the masses, becoming united, will go on political strikes, spreading all over the land, then will a breach in the ranks of the Babus become possible. . . The cult of freedom must now be preached to everybody in public and the mass movement should be started." In November, the German Government suppressed 'Indian Independence' and B. N. Dutt wrote to a friend in Calcutta to announce this—"My paper, 'Indian Independence', of which I am editor and publisher has been stopped by the Government of the country": and enclosed a long communistic article for publication. It seems practically certain that the 'Indian Independence Party' was a second string to the Soviet bow, and may have been connected with the organisation said to have been started in India



in the puzzling reports already referred to, which gave details of the existence of Bolshevik agents with unidentifiable names all over India. The most persistent of these reports referred to a 'Comrade Gamper', in Delhi, as the 'centre' of this organisation: and the latest of these referred to an individual whose name was certainly a Russian variant of Mukerji. Abani Mukerji, who arrived in Paris from India early in March 1924, said that, though 'his actions had been hampered by defamatory letters[121] written by Roy', he had had a successful tour, in the course of which he had 'organised a centre in Delhi'. Apart from this statement, there has been no indication of, or information about, any 'centre' in Delhi. It may be accepted that Abani Mukherji went to India in opposition to Roy, but none the less with the secret approval of the Communist International: and that, when he presented his report in Paris, he reported favourably as to his own organisation and unfavourably as to Roy's obvious intention of scraping the 'Labour and Kishan Party' and of making a fresh start in India was doubtless an attempt to counteract the impression, unfavourable to himself, produced by Abani Mukerji's report.

Roy was able to point to an interesting parallel to his 'legal party' in India, in that of the Communist Party in the United States: which (as reported in the 'International Press Correspondence') had found, after the formation of the American Workers Party, that they were able 'to conduct a large part of their work through that party, owing to its openness and legality.' R. A. Zakaria joined Roy's party in Berlin in June 1923 and seems to have gone from there direct to Bushire, as his first letter to Nalini Gupta (in cipher, over the signature of 'Hassan') was written from Bushire on June 30th. His fourth and last letter, written from Teheran, complained of the 'stagnation'—due, no doubt, to orders issued by the Soviet for cessation of propaganda consequent on the conclusion of the Trade Agreement with Great Britain—and the impossibility of doing any useful work, and expressed his intention of returning to Moscow. At the beginning of 1924 it was reported that the Communist International had sanctioned propaganda expenditure of £3,750,000 for 1924, £1,500,000 of this being for India. Reports were received of large sums of money being destined for 'Comrade Gamper' in Delhi; but, though all precautions were taken to obtain information of any such[122] despatch, nothing was traced, either to this organisation (if, in truth, it existed)

or to any of Roy's partisans, beyond a few hundred pounds sent to Sharma, already mentioned. In January 1924, Roy submitted a report on the Indian Elections, which was forwarded by the 'National Commissariat of Foreign Affairs' to the 'Plenipotentiary Representative' of the Soviet Government in Berlin. The report explained that Socialists and Communists did not put up separate candidates—"this was done with the knowledge and approval of the Communist International, which considered the moment inopportune for splitting of forces, and for independent action on the part of the Indian Communist Party, which is as yet young and weak. The first Congress of Indian Communists is to take place in March, when resolutions will be arrived at as to open action by the Indian Communists as an independent and perfected party". In March, Evelyn Roy was enquiring whether Roy would be given permission to return to India: and the British Communist Party were trying to obtain permission for him to visit England, apparently as a preliminary to his being allowed to go to India. The Communist International instructed the British Communists that, if they were successful in their endeavour, Roy should be co-opted as a member of the Executive of British Communist Party during his stay in England. Roy's friends in India wrote to him advising him not to return and some of them hinted, in no obscure terms, that his wife Evelyn was really a British spy! Arthur Field wrote to Roy promising to arrange to get articles by Roy published by the 'Bombay Chronicle'.

Saklatwala was invited by the Executive of the Communist International to attend a private Conference of the Secretaries of the International Committee of Propaganda, to be held at Moscow in August 1923: and, in March 1924, made a speech at a meeting of the 'New Irish Freedom League' in London, in the course of [123] which he said that British Imperialism had long been the curse of the world and that he was confident that India would set up a system of Soviet Government.

*The Cawnpore "Bolshevik" Case*—An elaborate 'brief' of all the individuals connected with Roy's propaganda had been for some time in preparation, and was completed in January 1924. Roy's net was wide spread, and the 'brief' attempted to deal with all the persons primarily or secondarily connected with Roy, down to those who allowed themselves to be used as accommodation addresses even when they had not (as several of them had) been themselves in correspondence with Roy. Roy

had an extensive correspondence with his 'old friends', the Bengali revolutionaries—letters passing between him and no less than 24 of the revolutionary party were intercepted in India: but in no case did much result, as each party wanted to use the other for its own purposes. He made special attempts to get in touch with Labour organisations and with the Indian National Congress, particularly because he wished to be able to produce, before the Communist International, some delegates who could be represented as carrying a 'mandate' from some recognised Indian political body. Indian 'Labour Leaders' conquered with him fairly extensively, and the Congress, on the whole, fought shy of him.

A detailed statement of the cases against Roy, Muzaffar Ahmed, Usmani, Ghulam Hussain, Dange, Singaravelu, Sharma, Nalini Gupta, S. D. Hasan, M. P. T. Velayudham, Sampurnanand, Mani Lal and Satya Bhakta was submitted to Counsel for opinion. Counsel reported in favour of proceeding against the first eight, and not against the remaining five: and this recommendation was approved by the Government of India. It may be worth while to indicate briefly the activities of the five persons against whom it was decided not to proceed—they have all been mentioned already in the course of this report.

[124] *S. D. Hasan* was Assistant to Ghulam Hussain, and titular Editor of his 'Inqilab'. When Ghulam Hussain was arrested, S. D. Hasan assumed his mantle, and started corresponding with Roy, incidentally disparaging Ghulam Hussain's work and representing himself as a great improvement. He had been known to Roy by name for a long time, since his was one of the (40) addresses to which Roy sent, in November 1922, a bundle of five copies of 'What do we want?' He had been in correspondence with Usmani, Dange and Singaravelu: visited Dange at Bombay and tried to persuade Usmani to visit him at Lahore: and was also in touch with the Akali leaders. He was co-signatory with Ghulam Hussain in the latter's invitations for his Lucknow Conference, and in the subsequent circular by which it was withdrawn. After Ghulam Hussain's arrest he wrote to Singaravelu (August 1923) saying that what is wanted is money and that they should not be squeamish as to where they got it from, provided they did get it: and that 'the Punjab Party' had annexed Ghulam Hussain's property (paid for out of the Bolshevik money that he had received from Kabul) because Ghulam Hussain had signed the Labour and Kishan Party card,

including the pledge 'I agree to surrender my right to private property as a matter of principle,' and was himself in prison, where property was of no use to him, while his family, who were receiving subsistence from Government as that of a 'regulated prisoner, had no need of it either. Roy wrote to S. D. Hasan in September 1923, protesting against his disparagement, of Ghulam Hussain, against his objection to 'outside interference', against his statement that the Communist Party of India was 'a fiction', and against the idea that money was the main *desideratum*. Roy invited S. D. Hasan to attend the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and said that, if the Indian Communists would not accept the guidance of the Communist International, "the British Government, and the Nationalist one that will eventually follow it, will have an easy job. Deport the most obnoxious revolutionary leaders in India, and the movement will collapse". Roy wrote again to S. D. Hasan in November, saying that, in view of S. D. Hasan's 'very encouraging' belief that 'the Indian nation can be prepared within six months to act upon your action programme,' he would be glad to receive definite proposals regarding funds: that he had no opinion of Singaravelu's usefulness: and that S. D. Hasan would do well to get in touch with Sampurnanand and 'obtain his collaboration'. S. D. Hasan replied to this letter in December, explaining his charges against Ghulam Hussain of embezzling his Bolshevik subsidy, and unfolding a scheme to combat 'the inertia of the National Congress and the fanatic propaganda of returned Muhajirin', whom he represented as denouncing the Bolsheviks as anti-Islam. Centres should be opened in each Province, with appropriate literature and 'ten paid propagandists'. The latter would be Secretaries of Trades Unions, whose business it would be to 'organise the Labour and Peasants Union', 'rally the masses' and 'enrol a national army militia'. "This work can be completed in six months, provided men and money be afforded. . . to start the work a heavy sum should be sanctioned by the Red International Communist Party. . . At least Rs. 10,000 a month for each Province will do, but there should be six months' expenses for each Province for advance, and machinery of Presses. The Provincial organisation of the Labour and Kishan Party can manage all these things very well". He ended by asking for a definite reply to 'this my last letter'.

M. P. T. Velayudham was Singaravelu's Assistant, and Secretary of his Labour and Kishan Party. His activities have

already been described in this report, as well as the fact that, alarmed at the prospect of inclusion in the Cawnpore case, he renounced connection with the Labour and Kishan Party and took up ordinary [126] journalistic employment. The Madras Government pressed for his prosecution along with Singaravelu, but the Government of India, after full consideration of his case and the opinion of Counsel upon it, decided not to prosecute him.

*Sampurnanand's* 'Memorandum' to the All-India National Congress at Gaya has already been mentioned, as also his general activities. He was an old friend of Usmani, who, in a letter to Roy written in February 1923, described him as 'a revolutionary Nationalist' whom, he thought, he was gradually converting to Communism: "days are not long that he will be a great enthusiast member of our party—the only man in India". He corresponded with Usmani and Singaravelu, and Ghulam Hussain's circular invitation was sent to him. His was one of the names 'cross-marked' in the list of addresses sent by Roy to Sharma: and Roy recommended him to Dange as a member of the latter's 'preliminary Conference'.

"Dr." *Mani Lal* was a Barrister-at-Law who had given trouble in Fiji, whence he was deported: had been ordered to remove himself from New Zealand and Ceylon, and had been refused permission to practise before the High Courts of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. He was eventually admitted to practise before the High Court at Patna. He produced his 'manifesto' in collaboration with Abani Mukerji, and was in touch with Singaravelu, Velayudham and Dange (as was also Abani Mukerji) and with Ghulam Hussain. In November 1923 he wrote to Velayudham saying that he had abandoned his intention of leaving India (for the Malay States, where he thought of trying his luck as a barrister "so I am again your man"). Roy recommended him as one of the 'Commission to elaborate the programme of the Workers' and Peasants' Party' as proposed to be constituted by Ghulam Hussain's abortive Conference at Lucknow: and entered him as a 'marked' address in the list sent to Sharma—"those[127] with whom we are in connection", etc. At the Cawnpore trial, he appeared in defence of Muzaffar Ahmed and Usmani, and was in the rather peculiar position of finding his own name occurring constantly, in the exhibits put in at the trial.

*Satya Bhakta*, the Editor of the Nagpur newspaper 'Pranvir', wrote to Dange in February 1923 asking advice as to the name of a new Hindi paper that he was proposing to start, which should

'appeal to the proletariat class.' He suggested two names, one of which (Sramjivi—the Proletariat) was, he said, 'nearer to Bolshevism' and therefore desirable. Dange replied, voting for 'Sramjivi', which Satya Bhakta accepted as 'suitable for propaganda', though he suggested that it was likely to be less attractive to the paying public and hinted that financial assistance would be desirable. He also said that he would help Dange's idea of a 'Socialist League for India' as much as he could. He also wrote to Sylvia Pankhurst in England, asking for Bolshevik literature. Later, he notified his intention of starting the 'Sramjivi', but found the public apathetic and unwilling to subscribe in advance; so he 'started a series of tracts with a view to ventilate his views regarding workers', promising one fortnightly. He started with 'Proletariat Series No. 1. A message to the Indian Proletariat', a summary of which has already been given in this report; but the public apparently continued apathetic, for this remained the only one.

Apart from the 13 individuals mentioned above, the 'brief' contained the names of 155 other persons; and it is noteworthy that, in this large number, which included Abani Mukerji and his associates in India, no mention whatever was made to the supposed parallel organisation reported as centering round 'Comrade Gamper' of Delhi.

A formal plaint against the eight persons, against whom it had been decided to proceed, was put in at [128] Cawnpore in February 1924: Cawnpore having been selected as the place of trial because of the arrest there of Usmani and the fact that he had written letters from there and letters had been addressed to him there: the alternative possibilities of Calcutta (Muzaffar Ahmed), Bombay (Dange), Madras (Singaravelu) and Lahore (Ghulam Hussain) being rejected, for one reason or another, after due consideration. The Magistrate accepted the plaint, and issued warrants for the arrest of Dange and Singaravelu: Muzaffar Ahmed, Usmani, Ghulam Hussain and Nalini Gupta being already in jail under Regulation III. Roy, in Berlin and Sharma, in Pondicherry, could not be brought before the Court: and Ghulam Hussain having, as already stated, made a confession and given evidence against Roy's agent Shafiq (who was convicted and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment), the case against him was withdrawn. Singaravelu obtained a medical certificate that he was unfit to travel to Cawnpore to stand his trial and was allowed out on bail pending recovery: this however, was so.

slow that the case was decided in his absence, and it was eventually decided to withdraw the charge against him at Cawnpore, without prejudice to his subsequent trial elsewhere, should this seem desirable. In fact, he has escaped without prosecution: but the result of the trial gave him 'the fright of his life' and he decided, after learning it, to abandon politics and confine himself to ordinary journalism. Only four persons, therefore, actually appeared before the Magistrate at Cawnpore—Muzaffar Ahmed, Usmani, Dange and Nalini Gupta—in March. They were committed to the Sessions, and their trial took place in April—Mani Lal appearing for the first two accused, and K. Malaviya (nephew of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya) for the other two. All four were convicted and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment each: and all four convictions and sentences were upheld, on appeal to the Allahabad High Court (The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Pigott[129] in November 1924, immediately after the close of the long vacation. K. Malaviya argued the appeal, Mani Lal not appearing at Allahabad.

When it became known that the accused had been committed for trial, the Communist International expressed special anxiety that they should be adequately defended in the Sessions Court: and Ram Bhattacharji was sent to London with money to pay for any action that might be taken by the British Communist Party to that end. Bhattacharji was given an American note for 500 dollars, 400 of which he was instructed to hand over to the British Communist Party. He, in fact, only handed over 300 to Palme Dutt, who gave him a receipt. Lansbury, M.P., however, made him give back the receipt insisting that he should carry no documents, and saying that he would send it to him later, to Berlin, by the hand of a secret communist courier. The British Communist Party's newspaper, the 'Workers' Weekly' (Editor Palme Dutt) started an 'Indian Defence Fund' for Cawnpore, and printed a list of subscriptions, two of which (Lansbury M. P. £1, Maxton M. P. ten shillings) were genuine and the rest fictitious, being represented, in fact, by money supplied by Roy. A cable was sent (signed by Lansbury, Maxton, MacManus and Saklatwala) to Marmaduke Pickthall in Bombay, asking him to engage a good lawyer for Cawnpore—"can you immediately arrange and what financial assistance do you expect from here?" Roy telegraphed to the Prime Minister, and sent a letter of protest to the press, against the Cawnpore trial—"There is a deliberate movement afoot to render the growth of a revolutionary

working class movement impossible. . . The Anglo-Indian ruling class does not want another Russian revolution, repeated on a vaster scale in India. Hence the present trial. . . Communism survived the bloody autocracy of the Czars and to-day sits triumphant as the ruling power of Soviet Russia. It will some day see the end[130] of Imperial rule in India and lead the hungry masses by a better road to freedom.!"

Roy also wrote a letter to the Congress of the—British Communist Party, protesting against the Cawnpore trial, which 'dastardly trial' the Labour Government and Labour Party 'have allowed to proceed unchecked', conveying the greetings of the Communist Party of India to the British Communist Party, and ending 'down with British Imperialism. Long live the revolutionary working class of Britain and India. Victory to the Social Revolution'. The Communist Party of Great Britain issued a number of letters and leaflets denouncing the Cawnpore trial, established an 'Indian Defence Committee', with Lansbury as Chairman, issued pamphlets inviting subscriptions, and continued to publish lists of subscriptions in the 'Workers' Weekly.' The total, in June, had only reached about £60, most of which was 'paper'. Roy wrote to India to say that he had "wired I. B. Sen, Calcutta High Court Vakil, to act as my lawyer for the defence. If he accepts, we will pay costs. . . I will immediately wire expenses if a good lawyer can be found. The trial should be regarded as a good opportunity to make our ideas known broadcast through the country." Evelyn Roy also wrote to I. B. Sen, saying that Jinnah had been asked to appear at Cawnpore, but wanted, £2,000. While the case was actually in progress, a cable was sent, by Lansbury and his friends, to the Government of the United Provinces, asking for adjournment pending arrangements for a prominent lawyer to represent the accused: as well as a cable to the Government of India asking for transfer of the case to another High Court, preferably Calcutta. In April, Sharma received a cable from 'Sarcar', Marseilles, promising money for his defence, and he wrote to Dr. Munje, Nagpur, (the 'leader' of the Central Provinces Swaraj Party) to arrange for it. It would appear that Mani Lal was recommended as Sharma's Counsel, for Mani Lal wrote[131] to Sharma in May suggesting that he should visit Sharma and take his instructions personally, as regards the Allahabad appeal. As Sharma was not before the Court, was quite safe in Pondicherry, and was fully aware of the fact (he had written in April that 'the British couldn't get him),



this could only mean that Mani Lal wanted Roy's instructions—and Roy's money. The absence of money probably accounted for Mani Lal's absence from the Allahabad appeal; for, in August, a cable from India was received by the 'Indian Defence Committee' (of which, in the mean time, Charles Ashleigh had been put in charge) asking that the money collected for the defence should be sent to India. Ashleigh authorised the despatch of £22, but kept the remainder (£39) 'for propaganda work.' The cable was answered by Lansbury (to Motilal Nehru) 'Received your cable. Wiring to-day £22. All available at present.' Shortly after this, Mani Lal wrote to Sharma that he had received no money for defending the accused at the Cawnpore Sessions trial, and that Malaviya (the other defence lawyer) had received the whole of 'Lansbury's Rs. 300 or so' (the £22 just mentioned) and about Rs. 350, 'from Shaukat Usmani's uncle at Bikanir'. . . Later in the same month, Lansbury sent a message to Motilal Nehru, British Labour disgusted at Indian lawyers' want of patriotism for not fighting principle,' enclosing £9 and saying that it had been decided to send £16 more.

A letter from Evelyn Roy, written in April, said that she had cabled 'the old man' (Singaravelu) 'to make a bold and courageous stand—it is a good opportunity to enforce our viewpoint.' The 'Workers' Weekly' wrote, in August, that the case against Singaravelu had been withdrawn because it was expected to fail. "Comrade Singaravelu is a very able lawyer and has sufficient money and friends to enable him to fight the case to a finish. He is also a person of All-Indian, and even International, reputation, being known as a Marxian and champion of the Indian working class".

[132] The 'Labour Press', Bombay—started by Dange, the keeper of which was K. N. Joglekar, who has already been mentioned as one of Dange's cover addresses—issued, in July, an appeal for funds by 'the Indian Communist Defence committee;' and the 'Maharashtra' of Nagpur, started a fund for Dange's defence.

In September, Chaman Lal wrote to Saklatwala "Warrants were issued against me for waging war against the King and it is to my knowledge that the authorities wanted and worked for it very hard—to get me into the Bolshevik Conspiracy case". . . In this he was quite mistaken or more probably deliberately untruthful. There was never any suggestion that he should be included in the case. Chaman Lal was, at this time, send-

ing a weekly newsletter to the 'Workers' Weekly' and to the 'Rosta Agency'—the Soviet 'Reuter.'

In June, Roy issued an 'Open Letter' to the Prime Minister, on the Cawnpore trial. The most remarkable feature in this letter is the admission that force and violent revolution were advocated by himself and his fellow conspirators—a fact that he had always previously denied. "The advocacy of the use of force, as opposed to mere constitutional agitation for the achievement of the Social Revolution which is the admitted goal of all schools of working class thought, is the chief difference that divides Socialist and Communist tactics. All Communist Parties everywhere use the terms 'revolution', 'violence' and 'force' in describing the change from one system of Government to another. Therefore (the Government) "Counsel's statement that 'the organisation of a Communist Party, in itself, is not a criminal offence', falls to the ground, for the prisoners were convicted for having advocated the use of force in ridding the Indian people of the ravages of Capitalist Imperialism. The Indian people [133] will be justified in using force, employed as an instrument of freedom, to overcome force maintained as a tool of exploitation and oppression." The British Communist Party endorsed this argument, in unmistakable terms, at a Party meeting at Islington, attended by Saklatwala and Tom Bell, where the latter said that the accused in the Cawnpore case were convicted "of attempting to deprive His Majesty King George of his lands in India. Well, the Communist Party of Great Britain make no bones about it; it is their full intention to deprive King George of his lands in England." The British Communist Party arranged to print Roy's 'Open Letter': and, in September, the Secretary of the Party cabled to C. R. Das "The Communist Party in Great Britain watches with interest the splendid fight of the Indians against British Imperialism. . . It believed that success can only be won by an organisation of workers and peasants. The Communist Party will give utmost assistance on this side" Roy announced his intention of publishing a pamphlet 'My Defence,' 'to vindicate his innocence' of the charges against him and his fellow conspirators at Cawnpore.

On his way to Moscow, Roy visited Berlin, where, on June 6th, he held a discussion as to the lines on which should work to carry on propaganda in India in order to create a party there, in place of the one broken at Cawnpore. After his arrival at Moscow, he attended a discussion held by the

'Indian Revolutionary Association', there, at which 'Sepassi', lately arrived from Pondicherry *via* Djibouti and France, was also present. Roy recommended sending for more Indians, but this was objected to, on the ground that they would either be British spies or persons without convictions, merely out for money. The majority took the latter view, and the question was adjourned for further consideration. R. A. Zakaria, just returned from Bushire, also attended the meeting. MacManus, of the British Communist Party (one of the signatories[134] of the cable from Lansbury and Co., about a Counsel for the defence at Cawnpore) was in Moscow at this time, and perhaps attended the meeting; since, before he left London, he said that the most important discussion at Moscow would be about a revolution in India, and that he considered that now, after the Cawnpore trial, the time was ripe to start propaganda, for which ample funds would be available. A youth from India, passing as 'B. Ghose'\* arrived at Hamburg in March 1924 as member of crew of a Dutch ship from India, and went to Moscow (probably in company with Roy) 'to undergo a short but intense course of training,' after which he was to return to India. It seems likely that 'B. Ghose' was the man sent to Roy by Nalini Gupta: since, in May, Roy wrote to Sharma, "the Bengal organisations have sent a comrade here at the suggestion of Nalini Gupta"; though Nalini Gupta himself (in a statement made to the police in August 1924) said that 'a member of the revolutionary party named Subodh was introduced to him as a suitable emissary to Europe, and Nalini gave him a letter of introduction to Roy and wrote to tell Roy to expect him. In the course of his statement, Nalini Gupta said that one of his missions in India was to act as intermediary between the Communist International and the Bengal revolutionaries, and that he had got in touch with members of the Anushilan party, with this object. The latter asked him whether the Revolutionary Party could send a delegate to the Fifth Congress at Moscow, to ask for money for their organisation. Nalini replied that they could expect no help from the Bolsheviks unless they were prepared to accept the Communist doctrine: and the Revolutionaries replied that theirs was really a Bolshevik society, though they did not call it so, as the name was unpopular in India.

\* Gopen Chakravarty.

[135] Abani Mukerji was in Berlin in August. He said, that his great ambition was to form a labour party in India, and with this object he had visited every Province in India, and had interviewed all the political leaders. "The Cawnpore case has given a death blow to my work, as all those convicted had been specially trained by me. Upendra Nath Banerji of Calcutta helped me a lot. He was also connected with M. N. Roy's party but, not having corresponded directly with Roy he could not be dragged into the case". (It is a fact that a letter from Roy to U. N. Banerji was in the Cawnpore case 'brief', but none from Banerji to Roy.) Abani thought that, owing to Singaravelu's escape from the Cawnpore case, there was still a chance for a Labour Party in Madras: probably as a result of this report, the Bolsheviks were said to be considering the starting of a propaganda Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, at Madras. According to the 'Vanguard' of September 15th, at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow in June, 'the proletarian organisations of Moscow presented a gold-embroidered Red Flag to the Indian working classes, as a token of revolutionary unity. The Indian Communist Party will hold it in safe custody till the All-India Trade Union Congress, or other working class organisation, intimates its desire to take it over.' In August, the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress appointed the 'Workers' Welfare League of India' (Dr. Bhat's organisation) to be its representative in England, his action being formally approved by the Committee of the Congress. In October, Abani Mukerji was in Moscow, whence he wrote to friends in Paris asking them to approach Indian firms to publish books on Communism written by him.

In July the Communist International decided to adopt Roy's suggestion that a new Indian Communist Party should be formed as a branch of the [136] Communist International, so that a reply to any British protest could then be, that activities were being carried on in India by the Indian Communist Party which is a branch of the Communist International and acting independently of the guidance of that organisation, thus being on the same footing as the British Communist Party. In the same month it was reported that information had been received in London that Communist funds, sent through Berlin, had reached their destination in India and had been acknowledged. Writing to Arthur Field in October, Roy said that the Com-

munist International 'is determined to stimulate activity in England and to carry on a more vigorous propaganda on behalf of India.' In October it was reported that the Communist International had decided to revert to Berlin as the most suitable centre for organisation of Communist work in India. Roy was to have his headquarters in Berlin and was to visit Moscow occasionally for discussion with the Communist International, who would remit funds to Berlin, thus avoiding possible protests by the British Government that Moscow was the centre of revolutionary work in India. Pending negotiations for his return to Berlin, Roy remained in France, the 'Vanguard' being printed at Marseilles, by Paul Senf, one of Roy's agents, and arrangements were in train for the transfer of its production to Paris. Roy was himself in Paris in August, where, writing to the Communist Party of Great Britain, he said that 'the Presidium of the Communist International has resolved to set up a Colonial Bureau in Paris;' that its organisation had already been begun and that the first formal meeting was to take place in the first week of September: that Palme Dutt (Editor of the 'Workers' Weekly') was to be the representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain and that his travelling expenses would be met by the Bureau. This 'Colonial Bureau' began to function in Paris in [137] September, but its proceedings were hampered by the absence of the British representative, Palme Dutt, who did not put in an appearance. In anticipation of permission to return to Berlin, Roy proposed to start a Students' Club there, to convert Indian students to Communism, and ultimately to call an Oriental Students' Conference and form an Oriental Students' Federation. Roy promised financial help if such a Club could be formed and progress made. In October, however, the French Government prohibited the sale and circulation in France of the 'Vanguard' and informed the British authorities that Roy, Evelyn Roy and Paul Senf had been ordered to quit French territory. Considerable difficulty was experienced in locating Roy, who covered his tracks cleverly in Paris, in order to serve on him the order of expulsion; but this was eventually done, and he took refuge in Luxemburg.

Mahendra Pratap left Kabul for Moscow in September. At the end of 1923, Roy had written to a correspondent that, although "our personal relations with him are excellent", Mahendra Pratap was a reactionary who "will not be useful for our

purposes apart from mere friendly co-operation on general principles”.

The Calcutta police had, early in 1924, detailed information about a plot engineered by Rash Behari Bose in Japan, for smuggling a large consignment of arms to India. A man from Calcutta had left for Shanghai, where he was to connect with a noted Bolshevik agent, one Hugo Espinoza; though, so far as is known, he did not actually get any further than Singapore. In September 1924 one Kesho Ram Sabarwal, a close intimate and ally of Rash Behari Bose, asked for a safe conduct from Japan to India, ostensibly to work at the ‘Shantiniketan’ School at Bolpur, where, he said, an appointment had been offered him by the poet Rabindranath Tagore, who had[138] met him on his Japanese tour. This was refused; but, in October, Hugo Espinoza who was known to be trying to get back to India, all India ports having been warned of his intention, contrived to get to Calcutta under a Chinese passport, and to remain there under an assumed name (Abdur Rashid) for nearly a month before being detected, and arrested under the newly instituted Bengal Ordinance. One Harbaksh Singh, who had been a close associate of Hugo Espinoza at Shanghai, where he was imprisoned for sedition and afterwards deported, was also arrested in the Punjab, in November, when acting as Jathedar of one of the ‘Shahidi Jathas’ destined for Jaito in the Nabha State.

An ex-lascar at Hamburg, one Mubarak Ali, applied in August for permission to proceed to the United States ‘to visit his brother’—the brother, so far as is known, being an imaginary personage. There seems little doubt that his real reason for making the application (which was refused) was a mission to America from Roy: for Mubarak Ali asserted, in conversation, that, during the past two years, he had sent 1,500 pistols to India through lascars, that Roy had asked him to send literature, that he had connections in Calcutta and Colombo, and that he was acquainted with ‘Ibrahim’ *alias* Khushi Mahomed *alias* Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi. Sepassi (for whom yet another *alias* was invented in Pondicherry—‘Dr. Nair’, under which title Roy wrote to him, and informed Sharma of his return to Europe) was in Berlin early in October, where he asserted that Roy had connections with the United Provinces and the Punjab and was trying, with their aid, to create a new party. Later in October, ‘Sepassi’ was in Marseilles and was believed to be trying to get back again to India.

In June, Arthur Field contributed to the 'Bombay Chronicle' "the story of Mr. Roy's career"—a very fragmentary resume of his activities, of small interest.[139] Field was in correspondence with ex-Burma civilian, Bernard Houghton, who, writing to Field in September, commended the efforts of the Bolsheviks 'to spread their propaganda throughout the world.' Roy, in the 'Vanguard', and Evelyn Roy writing to a friend in Calcutta, said the Swaraj Party was useless: the Government of India, three years ago "was on its knees before a threatening popular revolt", which was betrayed by Gandhi when he ordered the 'Bardoli retreat', but "will be the only remedy in the future". In November, Roy wrote to a 'Comrade' in India "For some months we have been practically cut off from all contact, which must be revived without delay and by all means": and asked how the arrangements for receiving literature, through lascars, at Bombay and Colombo were getting on.

Roy's 'contact' with India was almost entirely confined to his correspondence with Sharma. He wrote to a Madras 'Comrade' saying that he had sent £200 to an address given by Sharma, for the Cawnpore defence, adding "the Cawnpore Case was a great political issue": and to Sharma, mentioning Velayudham's decision to renounce connection with Singaravelu's Labour and Kishan Party and take up a journalistic appointment. "We must not be frightened at the Cawnpore case. Men must be found to carry on the work and keep constant communications with this end. Expenses will be met by us". In May, Roy wrote to Sharma (from Paris), asking for new arrangements to be made for getting the 'Vanguard' into Pondicherry and for getting it printed there, and instructing him to 'organise a point' and 'place one or two good men' at Bombay: "we will be able to send everything through the lascars. Colombo must also be used". In June a cover addressed to Sharma was intercepted (and detained) which contained a cheque for £100 on the Banque de[140] l'Indo-Chine, Pondicherry, and covering letter (in English) from 'Les Entrepôts Réunis,' Paris, saying that the cheque was "in accordance with our previous agreement for the purchase of coffee and other raw products of your locality. You can continue to send your correspondence and consignments of goods to our agents already known to you at Marseilles", Enquiry showed the Paris firm to be non-existent. In June, Sharma wrote to Roy saying that he had arranged with K. G. Sharma, the editor of the Jhansi newspaper 'Utsah', to

print 'whatever I write; making detailed suggestions for the smuggling of literature into Pondicherry as merchandise; and announcing that he had made arrangements for four persons to attend Roy's Conference—Roy must pay the expenses of two of these, but the other two 'will come at their own risk'. In July, Sharma wrote promising to send his brother to Europe to get in touch with Roy: asked Roy to use his influence with 'the new party in France (M. Herriot's Government) to relax the orders for his internment: said that he had sent K. G. Sharma to Bengal 'to make port arrangements' for receiving literature from lascars: and acknowledged Rs. 1,000, received through an intermediary. Later in the same month, K. G. Sharma wrote to Sharma saying that he had found a man to do 'point' at Bombay—a photographer: "photographic articles which come to India from abroad are not opened. If your goods come to his address in Bombay wrapped in brown paper and containing some negative plates, they will escape the notice of the authorities": for whom a house should be rented in Bombay, and who should be given a monthly allowance. Just about the same time, the French authorities in Pondicherry seized a large consignment of Roy's literature—1,400 copies of the 'Vanguard' and 300 of Roy's pamphlets. In October, Sharma sent an emissary from Pondicherry to get in touch with Communist sympathisers in British India. This individual interviewed 'a leader' in Calcutta,[141] Mani Lal at Gaya, Sampurnanand at Benares, K. G. Sarma at Jhansi, and tried to see Hasrat Mohani at Cawnpore, but found him absent; and then returned to Madras.

R. C. L. Sharma remained a convinced believer in violence and terrorism. He was reported to be inculcating these ideas in his young associates, and even to be training them in pistol shooting. He was anxious to recruit more young men from India for training in revolutionary crime and Bolshevik propaganda and made arrangements with K. G. Sharma to send two young men from Jhansi for the purpose. Roy's letter to Sharma refusing to send him pistols has already been quoted; but later, he seems to have relented, for he wrote "we have not done anything about the automatic, purposely, but I will see to it if you are so insistent. My request only is that you do not use it for any useless purpose. Nothing is gained by this method of work. Look at our Bengal people. What have they gained by their recent stupidity? You cannot make a revolution so easily. First of all the mentality of the people—or at least a



sufficiently large portion of it—is to be revolutionised. This cannot be done by stray pistol shots”. In October, Sharma sent Gandhi a long abusive letter, saying that he had ‘crushed the spirit of the young men of the country,’ ‘merely because a few dogs met their death at Chauri Chaura.’

It is instructive to note that, when Sharma was expecting expulsion from Pondicherry, he transferred the printing press, that Roy had sent him, to an adherent in Madras: and that the latter, following the custom of all Roy’s allies in India, converted it to his own private use, and eventually sold it and retained the proceeds. Nor does Roy seem to have been much more fortunate in his Indian allies in Europe; for one of his letters to Sharma enclosed a type-written document, with a space wherein a name was entered[142] in manuscript (a form which argues a fairly frequent necessity for its use), consisting of an official warning from the Communist International ‘to the Communist and Revolutionary organisations in India’ that “—, former member of the Indian Communist Party. . .no longer has any relations with the Communist International. Therefore we ask you to be on your guard with regard to this person and not to enter into any relations with him”.

The convictions at Cawnpore had a sobering effect on Indian newspapers, only a few of which continued to preach Roy’s tenets. The ‘Vartman’ (Cawnpore) wrote, in August 1924, that Roy’s programme “appears to be sweeter than honey and more pleasant than Paradise to the poor Indians and there is every likelihood of their welcoming it heartily”: and, in October, the ‘Socialist’ (Editor K. N. Joglekar, who had succeeded Dange after the latter’s arrest) wrote “The radical element of the” (All-India National) “Congress” (at Belgaum) “should organise themselves into a party entitled the Indian Socialist Labour Party, having for its ultimate object the establishment of the People’s State in which land and capital are owned communally”, and recalled that, in September 1922, the ‘Socialist’ had put forward a scheme for a Socialist party in the Congress—“If we do not move with the cry of ‘Land and Bread’ neither the peasant nor the worker is going to fight for a Swaraj where he is likely to find himself as much in want of both as he is to-day.” Other adherents of Roy in Bombay were T. V. Parvate, Editor of the ‘Lokmanya’—the man who had been titularly responsible for Dange’s ‘People’s Publicity Service’—with whom Roy was in direct touch: and one Vasudev Hari Joshi who, describing

himself as Secretary of the All-India Communist Party, visited Benares and advised the local men to start a branch of the Indian Communist Party there and establish a reading room for the study of[143] Communism. Satya Bhakta, in Cawnpore, started a Communist Party there in September, explaining, in a letter to a Calcutta newspaper, that "in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case it has been settled that to have faith in Communism in itself is no offence. Thus the fear of the law against Communism has been removed". The 'Bande Mataram' (Calcutta) announced that an Indian Communist Party had been openly formed 'with branches at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Cawnpore', and that 'an All-India Communist Conference will be held in three months' time.' In November, Satya Bhakta wrote to the Editor of the 'Socialist', saying that 'some fifty people' had become members of his (Cawnpore) Communist Party 'including several prominent personages'... This party showed some activity, producing a 'Red Revolutionary' newspaper which it was eventually found necessary to suppress; but it may be said that, on the whole, the Cawnpore case was justified, not only legally but politically, and that the view taken by reasonable Indians was generally that expressed by Mrs. Besant; who, in defending the introduction of the Bengal Ordinance, said that agents of the Communist International were to some extent responsible for the recurrence of anarchy in Bengal, and that the result of the Allahabad appeal 'has conclusively proved the existence of a Bolshevik plot in India'.

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**UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS  
COMMUNISM IN INDIA  
1919-1924**

**Subodh Roy**



## PREFACE

The Director, Criminal Intelligence, Home (Political) Department of the Government of India used to submit weekly and monthly reports on the political activities of Indian revolutionaries in this country and abroad. The relevant documents dealing with Bolshevism and Communism in India and activities in that connection of the prominent leaders are being reproduced in the following pages to acquaint the readers with the official version of the Communist activities in this country and abroad. In all cases the documents given here are a verbatim copy of those preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Some of the persons intimately connected with the Communist movement in this country and abroad have written their valuable memoirs. It can be said that the present collection of official documents, however, onesided, distorted and described from a perverse point of view, contain some new and useful information and will partly supplement their memoirs and help to some extent the future workers on communist movement in this country.

It will be revealed from the documents that organisations were set up at various centres in Europe to turn out revolutionary literature, pamphlets and journals in English and other Indian languages which were ultimately smuggled into this country both through land and sea routes. This literature was mostly directed against the British rule in India and the spheres of activity were in Berlin, Paris, London, Moscow, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Persia, Shanghai and several other places in the Far East.

Freedom fighters in this country have set sail to foreign lands with the hope of getting a wide scope for their activities in collaboration with the foreigners in matters of financial and technical assistance. Funds were raised in the foreign countries and diverted through various secret channels to keep up the organisational activities in this country under various guises.

But during and after World War I, the rise in the cost of living, the employment of Indian troops overseas and the echoes of Russian revolution have fanned the discontent always existing among the masses and the idea of class conscious rebellion against imperialist rule and capitalist cum feudal exploitation has been gaining ground in India. Since that time the situation has

aggravated and the formations of Trade Unions and Kishan Sabhas have marked the political landscape of the country with red tinge.

The banner of Social revolution has been raised against British Imperialism and to safeguard the interest of millions of the working classes and peasantry against the exploiting classes.

The documents in this book are published here for the first time and cover the period 1919-1924. It will be followed by similar documents for the later years.

I wish to thank all the friends who helped me in various ways in this humble work of mine. I also express my gratitude to Mr. Jogen Bose who helped me in preparing the manuscript for the press.

SUBODH ROY

# 1919

## INDIAN AFFAIRS IN EUROPE

2. INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN RUSSIA—The following report was sent out from the Wireless Station of Bolshevik Government in the beginning of December:—

“On November 25th Indian Delegation handed a memorandum to Sverdloff, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, in the name of the peoples of India. This memorandum gives an exposition of the long martyrdom of India under the yoke of England, which, although it has given itself the title of a democratic country, keeps a population of 325,000,000 of the inhabitants in slavery. The Russian Revolution produced an enormous psychological impression on the Indian people. In spite of England’s efforts the principle of self-determination for the nations has penetrated into India, whose events have taken such a turn that the English Government was compelled on August 20th, 1917, to formulate in Parliament two principles of their Indian policy. Indian delegates wanted to explain the situation to the English public, but they could not obtain a permit to go to England. In the U.S.A. and in France, Indian delegates were imprisoned. They were driven out from Japan, Switzerland and Denmark under the pressure of the English diplomats.

The memorandum further says that the liberty of the world will be in danger as long as the imperialists’ and capitalists’ power of England exists, which power is founded upon the slavery of a fifth part of the population of the globe. The memorandum ends with an expression of confidence that the days of England are numbered, that the Indians will rise and drive out the foreign domination, and that free Russia will stretch out a fraternal hand to them.”

FEBRUARY NOS. 181—184.

**BOLSHEVISM.** The following note on—by a military officer who has made a special study of Russia and the Russian situation will, I hope, interest the readers of this report. In this connection I may mention that the *Daily Mail* correspondent at



Helsingfors telegraphed as follows to the *Daily Mail*, London, on 18th January last:—

“The Indian Centralisation Committee, which is now working at Petrograd under the Bolsheviks, is composed of the same members as the Berlin Indian Committee. It is stated by the Petrograd Journal *Krassanja Gazeta* in the special number devoted to British India and to formation of Indian centralisation Committee at Petrograd, that a large number of Indian Bolshevik propagandists have already been sent to India and that the power of Universal Bolshevism will soon be made known to the British Empire.”

APRIL NOS. 148—152.

## 2. NARENDRA BHATTACHARJYA

NARENDRA BHATTACHARJYA, who under the name of C. A. Martin and M. N. Roy played a leading part in the German plots against India has been living in Mexico for some time and appears to be carrying on anti-British propaganda in Spanish. A letter recently intercepted in the American Censorship contained a pamphlet entitled *La Voz de la India* (The voice of India) which bore the name of M. N. Roy as publisher. The pamphlet contained the usual calumnies of British rule in India and criticised a pro-ally pamphlet called *El Despertar de la India* (The Awakening of India), also published in Mexico.

From another source it is reported that Bhattacharjya, H. L. Gupta and the other Indians in Mexico have formed a League of Friends of India with the object of obtaining support for the Indian revolutionary movement among the South American republics. They have also addressed a letter to the diplomatic representatives in Mexico of several countries asking them through their governments to present to the Peace Conference the petition of the League for the release of India from British domination.

## BOLSHEVISM AND INDIA

A Bolshevik agent named Carl Sandberg who had come to the United States from Christinia, was recently arrested by the American authorities. A considerable quantity of Bolshevik

propagandist literature was found in his possession, some of it relating to India. Among it was a copy of a book issued by the Bolshevik government entitled "*India for the Indians*", which consisted of a collection of extracts from Russian official documents relating to India. The following passages are taken from the introduction:—

"In closing there will be pointed out the role which the Russian Revolution can on its part play for the Indian Revolution on the ground of mutual struggle with world imperialism, which has assumed in England with regard to India such unusual forms of rapacious exploitation.

"For us Russians, who are ourselves threatened with the fatal danger of becoming a colony of Western Europe or may be of American or Japanese imperialism, it is very important to obtain in the face of the oppressed and in many ways similar to us in India, a natural ally in India, a natural ally in the cause of the struggle with a mutual enemy.

"Then let this collection serve our Eastern friends for the present as a first modicum of all our sympathy to the much suffering Indian people, as a certain pledge that our revolutionary paths in the near future will joyfully meet not only on the ground of a struggle for mutual liberation from a foreign sovereignty but also on the broader basis of class struggle and social construction."

The book of course is in Russian and the translation of these passages was done in America. I take no responsibility for the grammar.

#### AN INDIAN IN THE EMPLOY OF BOLSHEVIKS

Several British and French subjects who have recently returned from Moscow state that there is an Indian Lawyer these (sic) named "Servadi" who is on intimate terms with Lenin and is running the India Department of the Bolshevik Ministry of propaganda. This obviously refers to Hassan Shahid Suhrawardy, a member of well-known Calcutta family, who obtained permission from the British Government to go to Russia from England in 1916. It is said that he has several Indian assistants working under him at Moscow but their names has not yet been ascertained.

JUNE NOS. 494—497

### INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN EUROPE, SITUATION IN MARCH 1919.

#### BERLIN COMMITTEE

This is at present inactive and the German Government does not pay much attention to it. The German Foreign office continues to pay for the establishment of the Committee, and will pay 400 marks a month to every Indian Nationalist residing in Germany until peace is signed or free communication with India opened again.

#### RUSSIAN COMMITTEE IN MOSCOW

This, on the contrary, is showing much activity and is working to organise a new Russo-Indian Mission to Afghanistan.

It is reported—though it could not appear to be likely—Dr. Hafiz and Umrao Singh Majithia are in Moscow; in any event much mystery is made in Berlin as to the present whereabouts, which applies also to Sen (unidentified).

Das Gupta has recently received a letter from Dutt (Bhupendra Nath Dutt) informing him that the chief of the Moscow Committee has arrived in Switzerland.

All the members of this Committee are reported to have become Bolsheviks, and they all, on the suggestion of the Soviet Government, desire to turn their National Committee to Communism. Das Gupta is himself affected in this way. He states that the name of the Moscow chief has not been mentioned to him, but he has grounds for the belief that he is Umrao Singh Majithia.

#### INDIAN AGITATORS ABROAD

2. BARKATULLAH: According to a wireless telegram from Moscow Barkatullah had an interview with Lenin on 8th May.

HARDAYAL: It is considered by some well-informed Indians in London that Hardayal's sudden detestation of Germany and "fancy" for England is blind. They say that anyone who knows his record before he became a politician knows that he was in effect a Bolshevik in the days when Bolshevism was not known. His pamphlet on the *Aryan Conquest of the Dravidians*, written about 12 years ago, is instanced as a proof of this. He may, it is said, easily enough dislike the late

German Government and the Kaiser and his entourage on account of the way he himself was treated by the German Foreign office, but he has no reason to hate the German people. Nor does it follow that he should have come to like England, any more than Germany does, though the Soviet has overthrown Imperialism.

There are many who think that German penetration into India has in no sense been abandoned and "Hardayal is not a fool". He is on the contrary remarkably clever. Being a Delhi man he is able to exercise power and influence equally between Hindu and Muhammadan students; and as an Indian Nationalist he does not owe allegiance to anyone—he would use Russia, or Germany, or England to gain his object. He is believed to be in close touch with Russian Bolshevism in Stockholm; he knows the channels of communication from England and may be expected to arrange to correspond with Russians from India if he should be allowed to return there.

JUNE NOS. 494—497.

#### BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

In paragraph 4 of my Weekly Report dated 31st March, 1919 it was stated that an Indian (Hassan Shahid Suhrawardy) was running the India Department of the Bolshevik Ministry of Propaganda. This is a Department of the Bolshevik Foreign office and is said to include men and women of every race.

Further reports have been received to the effect that Turkistan has been chosen as the main base for oriental propaganda. A special mission is said to have been sent to Tashkent for this purpose. A former Russian Consular Officer in Persia, one Bravin has been put in charge of this mission, and has been given full powers, large sums of money, and much literature and pamphlets.

A report dated 19th April, 1919, stated that Bravin accompanied by another Bolshevik emissary named Batavin has gone from Tashkent to Bokhara intending to proceed into Afghanistan. A quantity of propaganda specially directed against the British rule in India, was reported in March this year to have been sent into the Pamirs with a view to its being smuggled eventually into India through Chinese territory.

## INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD

## PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

A lithographed circular letter has recently been found on the Frontier which purports to emanate from Provisional Government of India. It bears the signature of Obeidulla, Wazir and Zafar Hussain, Secretary to the Provisional Government of India.

Obeidulla is a Sikh convert to Islam and was the signatory of the "Silk letters." He is the "officiating Salar of Kabul" in the "Army of God."

Zaffar Hussain was one of the Lahore students who fled to the Frontier in February 1915. He is a "Lieutenant Colonel" in the "Army of God." A translation of the letter is printed below :

"You have read the news of the Provisional Government of India in the Rowlatt Sedition Committee Report. This Government has been instituted in order to establish a better government in place of the present treacherous, usurping and tyrant Government. Your Provisional Government has been continuously struggling for the last four years. As soon as you determined to refuse to accept the oppressive law, the Provisional Government, too, succeeded in obtaining help then and there.

The Provisional Government has entered into a compact with the invading forces. Hence you should not destroy your real interest by fighting against them, but kill the English in every possible way, don't help them with men and money, and continue to destroy rails and telegraph wires.

Earn peace at the hands of the attacking armies and obtain sanads of honour by supplying them with provisions.

The attacking army grants peace to every Indian irrespective of caste and creed. The life and honour of every Indian is safe. He who will stand against them will alone be killed or disgraced.

May God guide our brethhren to tread on the right path.

(Sd.) OBEIDULLA.

Wazir of the Provisional Government of India.

ZAFAR HUSSAIN.

Secretary, Provisional Government of India.

Delhi.

JUNE NOS. 701—704.

#### RUSSIAN COMMITTEE

**COMMITTEE :** The Indian Committee in Moscow is busy in Russian Turkestan and Bokhara. It is said that there are about 60,000 Indians residing in Turkestan. A successful Bolshevik propaganda is carried on there through the Indian Committee. Several Indians in Turkestan have already joined the Committee in addition to six Indians from Afghanistan and India who have arrived.

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

##### PROPAGANDA IN THE EAST

A report dated 15th April, 1919 stated that there were many indications that the Bolshevik authorities have a special organisation for the encouragement of revolutionary movements in the orient and that they are engaged in turning out propagandist literature in Indian and other Eastern languages. It added that there was little doubt that many of the Indian revolutionaries and anarchists who formerly composed the Indian Committee under the German Foreign office have now taken service in Moscow.

##### A BOLSHEVIST MUHAMMADAN AGENT

It is reported from Helsengfors on 5th April, 1919 that Muhammad Bak Hajilachet corresponds with Bombay and is engaged in Bolshevik propaganda among the Mussalman population of India.

#### THE TRAINING OF AGITATORS

A report received in London on 25th April, 1919 states that very many agitators have been prepared for service in the East. A large number of these are to try to reach Tashkent and Persia. It is reported that a branch of the "League of the Eastern Freedom" is already working in Tashkent. Natives are being trained as agitators. The "League of Eastern Freedom" has at its object the spread of Bolshevism among the people of Asia. With this end in view, special "Action Courses" have been arranged in Moscow in Mussulman Workman's Hall (Asadoulev's house, Bolshoi Tartarski Street). Lectures are delivered on :

- (1) Economics of the East, by Suetloff.
- (2) .....
- (3) India, by C. D. Mstislavsky.
- (4) Imperialism in the East, by V. Kriajin.
- (5) .....
- (6) Socialism in the East, by Troanovsky.
- (7) Revolution and the Mussalmans, by Cysoupoff.
- (8) .....
- (9) .....
- (10) .....

In addition to the above, periodical lectures on other subjects are delivered. The temporary bureau of the "League of the Eastern Freedom" is in Sivtsefvrajka Street, House 14.

**1920**

**FEBRUARY 1920 Nos. 398—412 & K. W.**

**DEFENSIVE MEASURES PROPOSED AGAINST BOLSHEVISM. APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL OFFICER IN EACH PROVINCE TO DEAL WITH BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA.**

Telegram P. No. M.D.O—2616, dated 28th Nov. 1919.

From : General Malleon, Meshed.

To : The Chief of General Staff, Delhi.

Priority : The following is a report from a British news writer, regarding the Bolshevik Mission.

1. It is difficult to give the exact composition of Suric's party as all intercourse with it is jealously guarded but the following is approximately correct : Suric : Russian Jew (other informants say he is an educated Kalmuck Muhammadan). A Russian Colonel formerly in Kurshk as Captain; speaks Persian and acts as interpreter. Russian doctor, Russian Secretary, Russian lawyer. Young German, Three Austrians, Fourteen Cossack; Maulavi Abdur Rab (also known as Abdur Auf), probably an Indian; said to have been in Kabul two years ago and gone thence to Bokhara. An India Rajah (Mahendra Pratab, Brahmin); said to be a converted Muhammadan; eats with Russians. Another Indian said to be a Madrasi Hindu.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6. The news writer states that he is convinced that the object of Suric is to induce the Amir to renew the war with India—and the arrival of Suric in Kabul will be followed speedily by a fresh outbreak of war.

Telegram P., Nos. 116—8. Dated the 28th January, 1920.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy

(Foreign and Political Department), Delhi.

To—His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, London.

**ANTI-BOLSHEVIK MEASURES IN INDIA :** Please refer to my telegram, Home Department, No. 1022, dated the 18th October,



work has now been commenced by officers specially appointed for counter-propaganda, coordination of intelligence, both internal and external, and organisational measures to keep Bolshevist emissaries and propaganda out of India. Conflicting announcements in Reuter's Telegram, however, regarding policy about to be adopted by His Majesty's Government towards Bolsheviks hamper them considerably. Similar embarrassment is felt by us when defining our attitude towards Afghan relations with Bolsheviks and a clear statement from you of British policy towards them would be of great assistance to us.

#### NOTES IN THE FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

A meeting was held on the 27th January, 1920 to discuss certain matters in connection with the defensive measures against Bolshevik propaganda outlined in the Home Department Letter No. 2483 dated the 25th November, 1919.

#### PRESENT :

##### *Foreign Department :*

The Hon'ble Mr. Dabbs.  
Lt. Col. O'Connor.  
Mr. Cater.

##### *Home Department :*

The Hon'ble Mr. McPherson.  
Lt. Col. Kaye.  
Mr. Corbett.

##### *General Staff Branch :*

Lt. Col. Muspratt.  
Maj. Lumby.

J. & P. (S.) 3716/20

The Secretary to the  
Government of India,  
Home Department.

India Office  
White Hall,  
London S. W. 1.  
30th March, 1920.

*Confidential*

Dear Sir,

I forward, for information, a copy of the paper noted in the margin on the subject of Bolshevik propaganda.

Letter from the Director of  
Intelligence Office, dated  
27th March, 1920.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- Illegible.

Secretary,

Judicial & Public Department.

J. H. E.

The Director of Intelligence,  
Scotland House,  
London, S. W. 1.

27th March, 1920.

Dear Mr. Hote,

Perhaps it may be moderately old news to you, but I nevertheless let you know that we now have it from an unimpeachable source that the Bolsheviks have stopped Indian propaganda. This [is] reported from a source favourable to them to be due to the raising of blockade. On the other hand *they intend*, as we know, *to keep it secret meanwhile in order to present it to England later as a great concession.*

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. M. Miller.

As a precaution, the part I have underlined [italicised] should be treated as confidential.

(Intld.) H. M.

APRIL 1920. No. 35.

#### INTERNAL

PRO-BOLSHEVIK INDIANS: A youthful apostle of Bolshevism has recently come to notice in Bengal in the person of Durga Das Chatterji, a 4th year student of the Bangabasi College in Calcutta. This youngman has been going about under the wing of the well-known Liyaqat Hussein addressing meetings. Several times he has alluded to Bolshevism pointing out its advantages and asking his audience to accept it if Government failed to take immediate action in the matter of high prices and profiteering. England, he pointed out, in the present state of affairs, would never be able to save India. If the Bolsheviks attacked from within and without and the only course left for them was to accept Bolshevism which he recommended them to do. Durga Das is a well known protegee of the well known extremist Jitendra Lal Banerjee who sends him to meetings as his deputy when he cannot attend himself.

M. C. RAJAGOPAL ACHARI: A High Court Vakil of Madras, holding extreme views is reported to be an ardent pro-Bolshevist.

his idea being to attain the revolution he desires to see by fostering labour unrest. In this programme he is said to be assisted by a certain Sukhini Narayan Iyer, a young barrister, now in Guntur, who recently returned from Ireland where he associated with Sinn Feiners.

These individuals are being watched by the Madras Police. The former is touring the districts.

Jethmal Parsanam (notorious Sindh agitator) recently made a speech on 'Socialism' at Karachi the whole trend of which, in the opinion of the reporting officer, was calculated to encourage industrial discontent and dispose the audience favourably towards Bolshevism. Bolshevism, he said, was nothing else than hunger, seventy-five per cent of Indians were poor and must starve if the bureaucracy retained the reins of Government.

The notorious Dr. Choitram Gidvani supported him.

S. P. Dave is now reported to have arrived in Bombay, unnoticed two months ago. He is stated to be living at Bhavnagar, Kathiawar.

Chaman Lal (see list of Pro-Bolshevik Indians) has come into prominence this week.

He is reported to have allied himself with Miller, the ex-guard of the N. W. Railway (vide last week's report) who is now the head of a rapidly increasing Labour Association composed principally of railwaymen. To this association he has been appointed Legal Adviser. Chaman Lal has also allied himself in Lahore to a certain Swami Wichara Nand described as lecturer of the Poona branch of the Indian Home Rule League. This Swami has recently established in Lahore a branch of the League with Gawardhan Das, noticed last week for his pro-Bolshevik utterances, as President. Swami Wichara Nand's scheme, it is said, is to obtain control over the labouring classes, form Unions, ally them when formed with trade unions of foreign countries and then to strike at imperialism. It is said that Chaman Lal has invited Swami Wichara Nand to Rawalpindi where it is proposed to start a branch of this League.

Bepin Chandra Pal has renewed his anti-capitalist campaign. On 6th March speaking at the Surma Valley Conference at Sylhet on the subject of the rise in the cost of living he explained how India was being exploited by the foreign capitalist. His speech throughout can only be described as thinly veiled Bolshevism.

No man, Pal holds, has a right to that which he does not produce with his own labour, be the product material or intellectual. The only hope in his opinion is to form an open alliance with British Labour, which looks upon capital as its natural enemy.

#### KNOWN AND SUSPECTED BOLSHEVIK AGENTS

A Durani Pathan was recently found at Amritsar Station talking Bolshevism and praising the Bolsheviks, representing that if they came to India all wealth would be divided and there would be no more poor. He gave his name as Sardar Gholam Haider Khan and said he was a horse dealer and going to Bareilly. It appears that there is a man of this name resident at Kohat. Enquiries are in progress.

#### MUSLIM-BOLSHEVIK COMBINE

Information has reached the Allahabad C.I.D. that at the recent Bombay Khilafat Conference, Maulavi Mohammad Fakir, an Allahabad delegate, suggested to the subjects committee that owing to the recent comparison made in the British Press between Lenin and the prophet Muhammad, a resolution should be passed that it was not in the interests of Muhammadans to oppose Bolshevism in India or in any part of Asia. The resolution was disallowed but the information adds that most of the delegates present were in favour of using Bolshevism as a weapon against the British Government.

In conversation with an officer of Government recently, Mushier Hossein Kidwai showed that he had a very high opinion of Bolshevik strength and spoke of their "Great Citizen Army." Bolshevik Russia, in his opinion is much more organic and therefore more powerful and dangerous than Imperial Russia.

AUGUST. 110—DEPOSIT.

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

AN INDIAN COMMUNIST MANIFESTO: In the issue of the Weekly Report of July 19th mention was made of a manifesto published in the *Glasgow Socialist*. A copy of this curious document has now been received. It is an appeal to the British to join hands with the coming proletarian revolution in India against both foreign imperialism and the sentimental nationalism

which would create a bourgeois democracy of Indian exploiters. Omitting verbiage the appeal runs thus :—

The time has come for the Indian Revolutionists to make a statement of their principles in order to interest the European and American proletariat in the struggle of the Indian masses, which is rapidly becoming a fight for economic and social emancipation and the abolition of class rule. The appeal is made to the British proletariat because of their direct relation to revolutionary movements in countries dominated by British imperialism.

The nationalist movement in India has failed to appeal to the masses, because it strives for a bourgeois democracy and cannot say how the masses will be benefited by the independent national existence. The emancipation of the working class lies in the social revolution and the foundation of a Communist State. Therefore the growing spirit of rebellion in the masses must be organised on the basis of the class struggle in close cooperation with the world proletarian movement.

But, because British domination deprives Indians of the elementary rights indispensable for the organisation of such a struggle, the revolutionary movement must emphasize in its programme the political liberation of the country. This does not make its final goal a bourgeois democracy unless the native privileged class could rule and exploit the native workers in place of British Bureaucrats and Capitalists. All that the world is allowed to know of the Indian revolutionary movement is the agitation for political autonomy. This had naturally failed to enlist the sympathy of the working class in any country, which must always be indifferent to purely nationalist aspirations.

The idea of class conscious rebellion against capitalist exploitation has been gaining ground in India, immensely stimulated by the war. The quickened industrial life, the rise in the cost of living, the employment of Indian troops overseas and the echoes of the Russian revolution, have fanned the discontent always existing in the masses. The nationalist revolutionary movement, recruited from educated youth of the middle class, tried to turn the discontent to an armed uprising against foreign rule. Since the beginning of the present century, terrorism, local insurrections, conspiracies and attempts at revolt have become more and more frequent until at least practically the whole country came under martial law. These activities did not inspire

the masses with lasting enthusiasm ; the leaders failed to prescribe remedies for the social and economic evils from which the workers suffer. By dynamic economic forces, which are destined to cause a proletarian revolt in every country, have grown acute in India and hence the spirit of rebellion has grown more and more manifest among the people who are not moved by the nationalist doctrines presented by the revolutionaries. To-day there are two tendencies in the Indian movement, distinct in principles and aims. The Nationalists advocated an autonomous India and incite the masses to overthrow the foreign exploiter upon vague democratic programme or no programme at all. The real revolutionary movement stands for the economic emancipation of the workers and rests in the growing strength of a class conscious industrial proletariat and landless peasantry. This latter movement is too big for the bourgeois leaders and can only be satisfied with the Social Revolution. This manifesto is issued for those who fill the ranks of the second movement. We want the world to know that nationalism is confined to the bourgeois, but the masses are awakening to the call of the Social Revolution.

The growth of class consciousness in the Indian proletariat was unknown to the outer world until last year, when one of the most powerful and best organised strikes in history was declared by the Indian revolutionaries. Though the Nationalists used it as a weapon against political oppression, it was really the spontaneous rebellion of the proletariat against unbearable economic exploitation. As the workers of the cotton mills owned by the native capitalists were the first to walk out it cannot be maintained that the strike was nothing more than a nationalist demonstration.

It is known in England how this revolt of the famished workers was crushed by British imperialism. But the British working class were misled into believing that it was merely a nationalist demonstration and therefore abstained from taking definite action according to the principles of class solidarity. A simultaneous general strike would have dealt a vital blow to imperialistic capitalism at home and abroad, but the British proletariat failed to rise to the occasion.

The only step taken was very weak and of a petty-bourgeois nature—the protest against the manner of crushing the revolt signed by William Lansbury and Thomas. This was

not the voice of the revolutionary proletariat raised to defend the class interest.

The bourgeois nationalist movement cannot be significant to the world proletarian struggle or to the British working class, which is learning the worthlessness of mere political independence and sham representative government under capitalism. But the Indian proletarian movement is of vital interest. The tremendous strength which imperialistic capitalism derives from extensive colonial possession rich in natural resources and cheap human labour must no longer be ignored. So long as India and other subject countries remain helpless victim of capitalist exploitation and the British Capitalist is sure of his absolute mastery over millions and millions of human beasts of burden, he will be able to concede the demands of British Trade Unionists and delay the proletarian revolution which will overthrow him. In order to destroy it completely world capitalism must be attacked simultaneously on every front. The British proletariat cannot march towards final victory unless he takes his comrades in the colonies along with him to fight the common enemy.

The loss of the colonies might alarm orthodox trade union psychology with the threat of unemployment, but a class conscious revolutionary proletariat, aiming at the total destruction of capitalist ownership and the establishment of a Communist State, cannot but welcome such a collapse of the present system since it would lead to the economic bankruptcy of capitalism—a condition necessary for its final overthrow.

To all possible misgivings of British Comrades we declare that our aim is to prevent the establishment of a bourgeois nationalist government which would be another bulwark of capitalism. We wish to organize the growing rebelliousness of the Indian masses on the principles of class struggle, so that when the revolution comes it will be a social revolution. The idea of the proletarian revolution distinct from nationalism has come to India and is showing itself in unprecedented strikes. It is primitive and not clearly class conscious so that it sometimes is the victim of nationalist ideas. But those in the van see the goal and the struggle and reject the idea of uniting the whole country under nationalism for the sole purpose of expelling the foreigner, because they realize that the native princes, landlords, factory owners, moneylenders, who would control the Government,

would be not less oppressive than the foreigner. 'Land to the tiller' will be our most powerful slogan, because India is an agricultural country and the majority of the population belongs to the landless peasantry. Our programme also calls for the organization of the Indian proletariat on the basis of the class struggle for the foundation of a Communist State, based during the transition period on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We call upon the workers of all countries especially Great Britain to help us to realize our programme. The proletarian struggle in India as well as in other dependencies of Great Britain should be considered as vital factors in the International Proletarian Movement. Self-determination for India merely encourages the idea of bourgeois nationalism. Denounce the masked imperialists who claim it and who disgrace your name (of British workers). The fact that India is ruled by the mightiest imperialism known to history makes any kind of revolutionary organization among the working class almost impossible. The first step towards the social revolution must be to create a situation favourable for organizing the masses for final struggle. Such a situation can be created only by the overthrow or at least the weakening of the foreign imperialism which maintains itself by military power.

"Cease to fall victims to the imperialist cry that the masses of the East are backward races and must go through the hell fires a capitalists exploitation from which you are struggling to escape"—"we appeal to you to recognize the Indian revolutionary movement as a vital part of the world proletarian struggle against capitalism. Help us to raise the banner of social revolution in India and to free ourselves from Capitalistic Imperialism that we may help you in the final struggle for the realization of the universal Communist State."

Sd/- Manabendra Nath Roy  
Abani Mukherji  
Santi Devi.

This appeal, with its orthodox Leninism and its misreading of Indian politics woven into an incitement to rebellion, is reminiscent of a letter addressed by Lenin to the British Labour Party just before the Scarborough Conference. That letter turned the Conference against Bolshevism and all its works and



led to a descisive repudiation of Third International. This appeal may well have a similar effect if it comes to notice in India. Still the writers' belief in indegenous Bolshevism in India is interesting, if not insignificant.

AUGUST.—110—DEPOSIT.

#### INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD.

Some scraps of information are available regarding a few well-known persons, which indicate how they are working together. Mohendra (sic) Nath Ray was received in Europe by Birendra Nath Das Gupta, who forwarded him to Germany on his way to Reval. Birendra Nath Ghosh, recently released from the Andamans and now in Calcutta, is corresponding with Das Gupta, but with what object it is not known. Das Gupta himself wishes to return to India. A. A. Mirza, so long identified with Islamic and Pro-Bolshevik agitation in England, has at last made his way to Rome. Italy has become a most important centre of revolutionary intrigue. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, an old associate of Lajpat Rai in America where he still is, has applied for a passport to France. Mrs. Naidu has been travelling in Europe to the great interest of the revolutionaries, of whom Das Gupta writing to a friend in Italy strongly advised him to get an invitation to Italy extended to her and to see himself. This same letter described the printing of propaganda in Italy and their distribution through Germany and America.

Chattopadhyaya remains in Stockholm. He is reputed to receive Bolshevik money, though he is often short of funds and is thought to supplement his own earnings with the help of Swedish friends. He receives anti-British literature from America and republishes it in Sweden. He, too, has a plan for a communist revolt in India and is confident of its success. He hopes to send it to India by hand in September or October.

These details have been given because it is believed that the Indian revolutionaries abroad are beginning to show a new activity. They have found new Allies and, it would appear, new plans. They are quite unpractical enough to build on the hope of a Communist revolution and they are just as ready as they ever were to be exploited by unscrupulous associates.

## SEPTEMBER—71—DEPOSIT

## THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

When the last mail left England the Third International was sitting in conference in Moscow.

The delegates of Asiatic countries, India, China and Korea etc. attended the preparatory Session of the Congress of the Third International and was warmly received. Royde (? Roy) who represented India declared that the flames of the social revolution were spreading and that Oriental peoples would soon follow the example of Russia. This Royde may be the ubiquitous N. N. Bhattacharjya. He was followed by other European speakers whose addresses were received with applause and are to be printed for propaganda purposes. Lenin is said to have announced (*Figaro* 22nd July) that Russia had no intention of pursuing the campaign against the West after Poland had been conquered, but that the world revolution would then extend itself to India where Irish Soldiers were distributing arms and munitions to the Hindus.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Some time ago it was reported that certain individuals in Calcutta had subscribed to and were receiving the *Workers Dreadnought* from England. The names of these individuals were given and enquiry was made about them in Calcutta. One of them only, Muhammad Yusha Khan, has been found to be receiving the paper; it could not be ascertained whether others were receiving or not. Mohammad Yusha Khan is a member of a big firm in Calcutta dealing in salted hides, he is Wahabi and a cousin of Mohammad Akram Khan, Khilafat agitator and editor of the *Mohammadi*. Yusha Khan helped Akram Khan with money to start this paper and supports him generally in political matters. This paper describes itself as published by the C. P. (British section of the Third International) editor Sylvia Pankhurst. Miss Pankhurst of course receives money from the Soviet Government and attended the recent conference of the Third International at Moscow.

Another Bolshevik production has recently been found in India. It is called *Soviet Russia* and is published by Maartene Bureau in New York. This particular copy was sent gratis to the editor of an Indian paper. The Soviet subsidised *Daily Herald* also appears to be received by every mail.

## INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD

**B. N. DASGUPTA:** The most interesting news of him is that he presented a petition to the Secretary of State praying that the terms of Royal amnesty may be applied to him. He was, he says, a most loyal subject until the war broke out when by his youthful eagerness for democratic political progress and his then love for Turkey he was induced to help His Majesty's former enemies. He makes the usual promises to amend and devote his full time and energy to further the industrial and commercial development of His Majesty's Indian Empire.

This merely means that, as reported from another source, he is home sick and anxious to return to India. He is said to believe, probably rightly, that the development of Indian industries is a fundamental step towards revolution. There is certainly no evidence of the sincerity of his repentance in the record of his recent activities ..... He has great faith in the Bolsheviks and says an agreement has been reached between them and the Indian revolutionaries. The main centre of work are, he says, Moscow, Kabul and New York, San Francisco and a small centre in England. Among the Indians in Moscow are Mukherjee, M. N. Roy and Halfsri (?) and Rash Behari Bose is according to him in Afghanistan along with Mahendra Pratap and Acharya.

It is perfectly true that M. N. Roy (N. N. Bhattacharyya) is in Russia and that Mahendra Pratap and Acharya are in Afghanistan. But nothing has been heard previously of Bose going to Afghanistan, a fact which would most probably have come to notice had it occurred. About Mukherjee there are excellent grounds for believing him to have stayed in Germany to watch the work there. M. N. Roy won a considerable reputation for himself among the Indians in America by his communism in Mexico, and since he has arrived in Europe he has set himself to work on Bolshevik rather than on nationalist line. His presence must tend to eclipse the old Indian Committee to whom by his Communist Manifesto he has declared himself antagonistic. But all the Berlin Indians are said to be anxious to join the Bolsheviks.

**DIWANCHAND VARMA**

This man claims for himself a considerable past as a revolutionary and to have been one of the first Indian "terrorists."

He is now a convinced Bolshevik and apparently in touch with some of the leaders, but he is rather out of touch with the Indian movement.

#### INDIAN COMMUNISTS

Reports about the following individuals have been received and are summarized below :—

DALIP SINGH GIL, described as the son of a peasant in Patiala State and brother of a dacoit who was hanged, arrived in Switzerland from America during the war. He was suspected by the German Government of being a British spy and was enticed into Germany and arrested. He remained in Jail, where he made acquaintance of Liebknecht, until the Revolution. He was set free with Liebknecht and was supported by him and his party, through whom he came to know German and Russian Communists, Radek being one of his intimate friends. From them he conceived the idea of trying to introduce Communism into India and himself became a Communist. His efforts to secure the support of other communists were failed by his ignorance of German, he therefore associated Mansur (Dr. Mansur) with himself and thus made his own progress easy.

Chattopadhyay is still in Stockholm and states that he too has hopes of obtaining Bolshevik money, with which he intends to start a paper called the "Indian Communist" to be distributed free all over the world. He has seen Kamenoff, who gives him a sham contract for purchasing chemicals in order to blind the police. He corresponds with Germany and Russia through Bolshevik couriers, is anxious to get B. N. Dutta from Berlin to help him and accuses Har Dayal of having been bought by the British Government.....His faith is entirely fixed on the Bolsheviks, who are said to be preparing for an Indian Revolution in March next year, and whose Bureau of Eastern Propaganda is working harder than ever..... Chatto also hopes to make Bolsheviks of all Indians and intends to start with Rabindranath Tagore, whom he expects in Stockholm in September and October and whose recent utterance have been such as to encourage Chatto's hopes.

#### OCTOBER 1920—81 DEPOSIT.

Saklatvala has been in communication with Roy (N. N. Bhattacharji) whilst the latter was in Moscow through a delegate who attended the conference from Glasgow who has now return-

ed. Roy wants Saklatvala to establish an Indian Communist group associated with the British Communist Party. He states he has been seeking to influence in the direction of improving conditions of Indian workmen, and is in thorough agreement with Saklatvala in despising the Indian National Congress, which he regards as "an illegal assembly of a few aristocratic gentlemen" called together in order to dominate the mass of the people.

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

Moscow Conference—Reliable information gives names of delegates who represented various sections of British India as:

- |                      |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|
| (1) Mahendra Pratap. | (4) Roy.         |
| (2) Suhrawardy.      | (5) Mantu.       |
| (3) Martin.          | (6) Barkatullah. |
| (7) Unknown.         |                  |

All these men are well-known; Martin and Roy are two *aliases* of M. N. Bhattacharji. As far as their succeeding movements are concerned Suhrawardy is at present under examination at Constantinople where he went via Tiflis, which place he communicated with his family in Bengal asking for money and stating he was "quite well."

N. N. Bhattacharji is reported to be with Jamal Pasha's mission to Afghanistan and there is some reason to believe that he may attempt to enter India.

B. N. Das Gupta is going to Stockholm as soon as his brother arrives, but he expects to return in about a month. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and B. N. Dutt from Berlin are also off to Stockholm. There is to be a meeting of the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian National Society as soon as everyone is assembled. Dutt has sent a wire in Cipher to Das Gupta to proceed to Stockholm at once.

APRIL 1920—103 DEPOSIT.

#### INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD

THE BERLIN HINDU GROUP: B. N. Dutt's correspondence is still the main source of news of this dwindling body of the irreconcilables. He recently wrote that the "Traitors" had left Germany for London a few days previously; that some of them were approvers like Dr. C. Chakravarty and among them was one

likely to keep his word and work furtively in India. Dutt remarked that he was delighted to have got rid of these useless persons and to be left with a clean sheet, though there were still some who would have to be removed. Now was the time, he said, to procure fresh blood from India to assist in the accomplishment of their heavy task. Accordingly he asked Das Gupta at least to induce Jatin Sette (?) and Fazlul Hak Hasrat Mohavi (an Aligarh graduate) to join him as soon as possible; he added that he had addressed a similar request to Chattopadhyaya.

It is believed that Hasrat Mohavi (or Mohani) is identical with the individual interned in India for complicity in the silk letter case; in short the individual now so prominent in the Khilafat agitation. Regarding Jatin Sette (?) Das Gupta remarked in conversation that he was an extreme revolutionary who had been interned but was now free. He is an M.A. of Calcutta whose real name may be Jatindranath Sen or Seth.

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

SOVIET DESIGNS ON INDIA : That the Bolshevik Government is thoroughly earnest in its hope to provoke revolution in India, as the best means of wrecking the British empire, has I think, been so proved as to leave not the slightest doubt in anybody who is open to conviction. Bolshevik speakers and writers have openly proclaimed their intentions and spread the announcements over the world. From every direction have come secret reports of plans and intrigues undertaken to give effect to these designs. Every revolutionary party or society seems secure in its hope of financial and other assistance from Lenin and his friends. The distinction, therefore, which is made for clearness in this report between revolutionary bodies and Bolshevik agencies is a false distinction, because now-a-days every revolutionary organisation whatever its origin seeks alliance with Bolshevism.

The important question then is by what methods the Bolsheviks can hope to execute their plans in India. They can rely either on an invasion from Central Asia of forces raised by themselves, or on indigenous agencies in India, or on a combination of the two. Indigenous agencies are certainly hard at work to promote disaffection against government. Their methods are certainly skilful and as such are likely to rot the core of Government's strength by disaffecting its servants, military and civil, and by destroying the influence of the more conservative elements of

Indian Society through the promotion of a government of dictatorship of the proletariat. That their methods are disguised as Khilafat agitation or election campaign need not affect their result. As regards the likelihood of invasion this seems more remote.

**INDIAN BOLSHEVIKS :** A report from Geneva of the 18th February declares that Bravin, the Bolshevik emissary has made his way into India with three Indian assistants and that he is working round about Peshawar where a secret conference was to be held in February. This Conference was to have been of the greatest importance as it was to have united the islamic and non-islamic parties for the war against England; and one Nafis was anxious to attend at all costs.

Enquiry is made about Nafis who is said to be a native of Trans-Caspia, who was in Calcutta in 1902-05 and visited Persia, Moscow, Switzerland and Berlin where he was associated with Chempakaraman Pillai. He may possibly be identical with the notorious Abdul Hafiz of the Zurich Bomb case. But the report, so far as the object of the Peshawar Conference is concerned, is given with the greatest reserve.

Another report states that there are now 150 Indians in Moscow and Petrograd who are undergoing instructions in the art of propaganda. When qualified in these schools, Indians return to their native country. A German named Preetz or Praetz, long engaged in India as merchant or manufacturer in the textile trade and now in Berlin is declared to have stated that he had received from Lenin the enormous sum of 50 million United States gold dollars and 1 Milliard of Czarist paper roubles for the purpose of propagating the Bolshevik gospel in India.

#### IMPORTED BOLSHEVISM IN INDIA

The letters printed below have a peculiar interest, whether they are explained as emanating from real Bolshevik emissaries or from Indians aiming Bolshevism. There is no foundation in fact for the widely spread rumour that Bravine has succeeded in entering India with two of his assistants. In fact he was superseded in Afghanistan by Suritz and is believed now to be in Caucasia. But this name may be a cloak for the emissaries who actually are in India.

To  
The Editor,  
"The Englishman", Calcutta.

Camp Bat Khel  
Via Malakand  
N.W.F. Province  
*The 10th April, 1920.*

Dear Sir,

His Excellency M. Bravine has directed me to inform you that the Soviet Government will watch with great interest the reposed treaty of friendship between Great Britain and the God-Granted Kingdom of Afghanistan. No doubt his Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan Al Ghazi has gained his complete independence through the energies of his able Foreign Minister Sardar Mahmud Beg Khan Tarzi, and is at liberty to establish his friendly relations with the Foreign Powers, but the special points we are anxious to know are :—

1. What will be the fate of the frontier people who are looking anxiously towards Afghanistan for protecting them from British Government's aggressiveness ?
2. Under whose control the frontier tribes will be placed ?
3. By remaining friendly with Afghanistan, will the Indians get self-government from the British ?
4. Will Afghanistan gain some thing from the British ?

The case of Egypt and Persia, is before the eyes of the whole world. Our agents in Simla and Delhi have informed us that for the sake of her interest in Persia and Mesopotamia, the British Government have resolved to crush the old Turkish Muslim Government and to show their impartiality and innocence to the Islamic world, they are prepared to grant some concessions to the Afghan Government who will be asked instead to check the Bolshevik advance on India.

I will communicate with you on the subject again on arrival at Kashmir. Will you kindly publish it in your paper and also inform the Government about it ?

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) M. Alexief  
Chief Agent to Bolshevik's  
Bureau for Northern India.



To  
The Editor,  
"The Amrita Bazar Patrika", Calcutta.

\* the letter above

Dear Sir,

I am directed to forward you a copy of a letter on reverse\* and beg to publish it in your paper.

Mr. Lenin has read the dreadful account of massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in your esteemed paper and has authorised me to make this known to the people of India that the Soviet Government are in full sympathy with the just cause of their Indian brethren. As you are editing the best nationalist paper in India, I have ventured to send this letter to you for publication in case the "Englishman" does not care to take any action on it.

Copy forwarded  
to the Editor,  
the "Democrat"  
for information.

Yours eternally,  
(Sd.) M. Alexief  
Chief Agent to Bolshevik  
Bureau for Northern India.

MAHENDRA NATH ROY (*sic*)

This Indian revolutionary escaped arrest in the United States by fleeing to Mexico with his American wife. There he continued the production of pamphlets and literature attacking the British Indian Government. On one occasion, as reported at the time, he offered the fruits of his labours to the German embassy for any purpose for which they could be employed. It was there too that he was converted to the Communist Creed and associated himself with Lynn A. E. Gale and other Bolsheviks and eventually became the leader of the Mexican Communists. But for a brief appearance as a labour agitator at Tampico his Bolshevism found only a literary expression, so far as is at present known. It is now reported that he left Mexico on January 15th last and that he is believed to be on his way to Russia *via* Spain. Since his departure '*EL Communists*' the organ of the Communist Party has not appeared and it is thought that lack of funds and lack of a suitable person to take direction of it will prevent its reappearance in future.

JUNE 1920—78—DEPOSIT.

**“LENIN THE STRATEGIST”**—“Lenin has very good reason for the Indian, Egyptian, Persian and other Nationalist intrigues which he is promoting against Great Britain. He regards it as impossible to exercise and direct influence on the English workmen which would lead them along the paths of communism. Consciously or unconsciously, the English working man feels himself to be the Centre of an Empire, the prosperity of which depends on its colonies. He is thus too well off, and too deeply imbued with the idea of property and self-interest to be influenced by communist propaganda. The utmost of which he is capable is a progressive series of bargains with Capitalism and by that route communism will never be reached. But, if England were deprived of her colonies, then her industrial condition would be no better than that of the countries of the European mainland and her exchange would fall as there has done. The English workmen would then cease to be prosperous or contended, and England could be made as ripe for communism as France or Italy. Therefore, in so far as England is concerned, Lenin is devoting himself ardently to the destruction of her Empire and the liberation of her colonies.”

DECEMBER 1920—86—DEPOSIT.

#### **BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA IN INDIA**

Bepin Chandra Pal who had been on tour in East Bengal, and Sylhet, along with Srish Chatterjee, pleader of well-known revolutionary tendencies, has returned to Calcutta. Detailed report of his speeches during his recent tour show that they were of a more than usually objectionable nature. At Sylhet on 23rd September he delivered a speech obviously intended to excite the people of that district most of whom belong to the Baisnab sect. Universal brotherhood and self-reliance, he pointed out, are the keynotes of the lives of both the Bolsheviks and the Baisnab, the only difference being in respect of violence to which the Bolsheviks are accustomed. Just as the Baisnab goes to Sri Brindaban, so the Bolsheviks, are also coming to India.

**RASH BEHARI BOSE**—A Report was received sometime ago that Bose was probably in Afghanistan in touch with the Bolsheviks. This has to some extent been corroborated by a confessing revolutionary in Bengal who reports that another

absconder and associate of Rash Behari named Amarendra Chatterjee is in touch with the Bolsheviks, through Rash Behari, while a different Calcutta Police source reports that Amarendra has recently been in Afghanistan.

A report has been received that Khalil Makdour, a member of the Egyptian party in Geneva, has been asked to join a Bolshevik Party which left Berlin in March to stir up trouble on the Indian frontier.

It is noticeable that a good many rumours of imaginary Bolshevik successes are current in Northern India. These chiefly concern the relation between Bolshevism and Afghanistan, the intentions of the Amir to outwardly profess friendship and to suddenly descend on India at a favourable opportunity, and the spread of unrest among the frontier tribes etc. The return from Afghanistan of large numbers of ignorant *Muhajirin* is sufficient explanation in itself of the source from which these rumours originate, and there is no reason, on present evidence, to suppose that they are the work of Bolshevik agents who have penetrated India.

In one of the recent numbers of the India News Service issued by the Friends of Freedom for India an account is given of the part played by Roy (N. N. Bhattacharya) at the Moscow Conference. According to this he showed himself "*plus royaliste que le roi*" in opposing Lenin, who wished to support existing Nationalist agitation in India as a means of overthrowing the present administration preparatory to the establishment of Bolshevism. Roy held that agitation in India was confined to the middle classes, and that the purity of Bolshevik ideals should not be sullied by any cooperation with the "bourgeois". He ultimately allowed himself to be convinced by Lenin—the whole affair was probably a move to gain notoriety.

**THE BERLIN GROUP:** It is reported from Berlin that Acharya who is now in Moscow, has written to Chattopadhyaya in Stockholm informing him that the Russians are now concentrating their energies on rendering assistance to the Pan-Islamic Movement, as such, and as outside other political movement. This attitude, Acharya points out, must be strongly protested against.

Upon receipt of this letter Chatto decided to go at once in person to Moscow, it being felt that should this line be taken up and persisted in by Russia, it would be highly detrimental to the interest of Indian independence. Further it appears that Dutta has already sent an ultimatum on this subject to Lenin by

the hand of a lady who has recently gone to Moscow, named Clara Szetky (*sic.*). Das Gupta went to Berlin and from there to Stockholm, in order to join Chatto. Dutta was also to go, but had not, at the date of the report, obtained a passport. The three of them intend holding a conference in Stockholm and Chatto will then proceed to Moscow.

It is understood that should the negotiations with the Russian Government turn out unsatisfactorily, a violent anti-Russian propaganda will be started by the leaders of the Indian Revolutionary movement in Europe. At the moment they are at a loss to know how to act. Das Gupta (who is travelling under the name of Haider) will return from Stockholm to Berlin, in about a fortnight's time. Dr. Ghose, his wife and nephew have met Chatto but it is not definitely known where the meeting took place.

Chatto's intention of visiting Moscow has been confirmed from another source. It appears that he has received Bolshevik funds through Hellberg who is a prominent member of the Central Bolshevik Committee at Stockholm, and that he intends to accompany Litvinoff on his journey to Russia via Reval.

At the Baku Conference in September Enver Pasha proclaimed his agreement with the views of the Third International in the name of Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Arabia and India.

Roy, representative of India, was apparently responsible for the statement that there were over 37 million landless peasants in India and that the entire land was in the possession of some six or seven hundred princely families. He regretted however to admit that the national India movement was being carried on by the middle classes. It is difficult to believe that even Roy would make the preposterous statement that all the lands of India in the hands of some six or seven hundred princely families, but his regret that the national India movement is being carried on by the middle classes is entirely in the strain of a letter he wrote from Reval at the end of May to a friend in America. In the course of that letter Roy said, "If the Nationalists leaders don't see our point of view we are determined to part with them and even fight them if necessary, and it is inevitable that we must fight the Nationalists either now or later. Since we are convinced that the establishment of Nationalists Government would not emancipate the masses."

Roy is out for notoriety, and means to impress the Bolsheviks with his importance. It is difficult to estimate what influence he carries, probably it is not very great. From the latest

reports it appears that he has decided to remain in Tashkent for a few months and has abandoned his intention of proceeding to Kabul.

SNEEVLIETS, who was recently reported to be *en route* for the Far East, where he was to carry on Bolshevik propaganda, has suddenly returned to Holland. It is strongly suspected that his change of plans was due to direct orders from Moscow, in connection with Rabindra Nath Tagore's visit to Holland. The Soviet Government sometime back invited Tagore and Sir Jagadish Bose to a congress to be held in Moscow to discuss Orientalism and Internationalism, and Sneeveliet's mission was apparently to prepare Tagore's mind for the proposal which would be made to him at Moscow. The Communists in Holland watched Tagore very closely during his stay, and as a result an adverse report concerning him is said to have been sent to Moscow, as Tagore did not associate with communists, neither were his lectures appreciated by them.

PROPAGANDA IN INDIA : Many references have of late been made to Bolshevik plans for flooding India with agents and literature, and that such is their desire no doubt. But there is little evidence in India to show that these plans have ever been carried into execution.

It is possible that men have entered the country who have been supplied with money from Russian sources, on the understanding that they would carry on Bolshevik propaganda; but once in India their connection with Bolshevism, has gone no further than taking Soviet money. Probably most of these so-called agents had no intention of carrying out their contracts, they desired to return to India and had no objection to return with money obtained at the cost of promises which they knew it would be impossible to enforce.

So far as indirect methods are concerned, such as subsiding existing agitation, it is not easy to appreciate the situation. The labour unrest in large industrial centres is an obvious instance where Bolshevik influence might be suspected. Of the prominent labour leaders, Lajpat Rai has Bolshevik leanings, Chaman Lal is in close touch with English Communists through Saklatvala in London. It is therefore not difficult to show a certain connection with Russian ideas, but up to the present no proof has been obtained of any Russian money behind the labour agitation. The rise in prices and economic causes generally are sufficient in themselves to explain the present epidemic of strikes.

f. 312—April  
J & P (S) 3698/20

India office  
Whitehall  
London, S. W. 1  
18th March, 1920

*Secret*

Dear Sir,

I forward, for information, a copy of the papers noted in the margin, on the subject of connection between the Indians at Berlin and the Bolsheviks at Moscow.

Letter dated 5.3.20  
from the Italian  
Ambassador to the  
Foreign Office.

Yours faithfully  
Sd. Illegible  
Secretary,  
Judicial & Public Department.

APRIL 312  
Translation No. 479

*Confidential*      Italian Embassy  
• March 5th, 1920

My Lord :—

I have the honour to inform your Lordship in case the information may be of use, that according to news which my Government has received from Italian Minister at Berne, it appears that Djevedet Bcy, proprietor of the journal "Idkam", and resident at St. Moritz, where he maintains relations with Nedjmedden Molla and other Unionists has declared that the Indians who were at Berlin have departed for Moscow with the object of negotiating with Lenin. (The news of the Indians' departure from Berlin has also been confirmed by a telegram from Berlin to the "Neue Urcher Zeitung"). These men have had proclamation published in the various dialects of Western and Central Asia.

Indian propaganda is said to have been greatly helped by the Unionists, almost all the Indians who were at Berlin being inscribed as members of the Committee of Union and Progress. One of them has been sent to Switzerland.

It appears on the other hand that Germany is preparing to give the maximum amount of support to this propaganda and that aeroplanes are ready to go to Moscow and organise from there a vast service of communications with Turkestan and Afghanistan.

The Right Hon'ble Earl Curzon  
of Kedleston, K.G.

I have &c.  
(Signed) Imperiam

FEB. No. 52

## BERLIN TO SWITZERLAND

Recent reports confirm the information given in previous weekly Report that the Berlin Committee are in communication with *Ghadr Party* in San Fransisco and the Friends of Freedom for India in New York.

All communications between the Berlin Committee and the outside would appear to pass through the hands of Das Gupta in Zurich where he is known as M. A. Haidar. This man has been recently described as the most active and dangerous of the Indian conspirators and has recently replaced Prabhakar as the leader of these men. From his retreat at Zurich he is in touch with many phases of the great anti-British conspiracy.

A very optimistic letter reached him from B. N. Dutt in Berlin at the beginning of November. The writer asserted that the fight for India was about to begin, and that Afghanistan would resume hostilities in six month's time. He alluded in cryptic terms to a most fortunate event which has just occurred and which made him feel sure that the days of British domination in India were numbered. He pleaded the attention of British spies as an excuse of not saying more about it, but promised full detail when he met Das Gupta at the Socialist Conference in Switzerland in January. He added that owing to the great responsibility of his work he had summoned Chattopadhyaya from Stockholm and was anxiously awaiting his arrival. In a later letter Dutt gave Das Gupta news received 'at last and after great difficulty' from Indian Committee in Kabul. He described their activities in Afghanistan and their efforts to utilise Kashmir as a secret jumping-off place for work in India. He wrote hopefully of the progress made, but excused himself from giving details. (It is noteworthy that Har Dayal sometimes ago urged the desirability of making use of Kashmir, particularly for importing arms into India, and said he had a friend in Srinagar ready to help). In a third letter Dutt informed Das Gupta that Chattopadhyaya has sent Tarak Nath Das 5,000 Kronen through his attorney Gilbert E. Roe (Roe is defending various Indians in deportation and other cases and was recently elected a president of Friend of Freedom for India).

Das Gupta has also received letters from Tarak Nath Das and Sailendra Nath Ghosh in America both appealing for funds from the Berlin Committee; Das on the ground that the work

he is doing benefits the Germans as well as Indians, and Ghosh on the ground that his work must be carried out on a far larger scale. Ghosh also said that he had received a very important message from India together with a letter from a certain Satu which is to be delivered personally either to B. N. Dutt or Das Gupta.

### THE BOLSHIEVIK MENACE

ACTIVITY IN CENTRAL ASIA : Fifty-four schools have been opened at Tashkent, mainly for propaganda purposes where oriental languages are taught and some Indians are engaged as instructors. Propaganda literature is also being prepared. As agents become proficient they are to be sent to India, China and all other countries having a Muhammadan population. Those for India will enter mostly by Afghanistan under Afghan auspices or by sea under various disguises.

The decision to concentrate all efforts on India was recently re-affirmed by the Tashkent Soviet, because it is hoped to decide there the destruction of the British empire and the future of the world proletariat. It is understood that centres where propaganda will be partly prepared are to be opened in India.

### RECIPROCAL MOVEMENTS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND INDIA

The following was issued by wireless on December 12th :—

“Russian papers report that an Indian Bolshevist Commission is said to have arrived at Samara in order to enter into relations with Soviet Russia”.

The *Svenska Dagbladet* of Helsingfors gave the following details about the same time:—

“Indian Bolshevist Commission is actually in Samara. The chiefs have declared that 300 millions of Indians are awaiting a favourable occasion for rejecting the British slavery and that they want to join with Russia.”

From Sweden too comes the report that about 100 agitators have been sent to India from the schools in Moscow. I have received detailed reports about 3 such agitators have been sent to India from schools in Moscow.

Two are Finns who were expected at the beginning of January to leave Stockholm for India as propagandists. Their names are given as Issenivs and Karl Harrin; but they were expected to travel with forged or stolen passports as Harry Bennet, American and Thomas Grieg, British. Issenius is believed to be identical



with Allan Usenius an extremely dangerous propagandist. Nothing is known for certain of Karl Harrin, but he is possibly Hurmev Aara, a Finnish Bolshevik of some importance in Stockholm.

The third man is Dr. Max Fischer. It may be mentioned here though he is not known as a Bolshevik, but he is employed by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was reported in December to be on his way to Trieste for India for anti-British propaganda. He possesses 5 passports, three in his own name as commercial agent, consular agent, and tourist and two under an assumed name. This man is perhaps identical with a man of the same name who was working with the Chinese revolutionaries in Shanghai in 1916.

#### A BENGALI BOLSHEVIK

The Intelligence Branch, C.I.D., Bengal has received the result of enquiries made with regard to Shaheed Suhrawardy, who was one of the first Indians to throw in his lot with the Soviet Government in Moscow. This man was a well-known revolutionist. His father Zahid Suhrawardy, a judge of the Calcutta Small Causes Court, has not heard of his son for a long time and is unwilling to talk about him. He believes him to be in touch with the Bolsheviks. An officer who knows the family recently ascertained from one of their relations that one of the members have gone to Russia via Afghanistan and been detained there. On inquiry whether any information could be obtained in Calcutta about Suhrawardy it was said that a Russian named Ivanhow could give information. This Russian was said to be a great Arabic and Persian scholar who had come to India to prosecute his studies and had been on friendly terms with Suhrawardy on account of the latter's knowledge of Arabic. No Russian named Ivanhow is known in Calcutta, but inquiries are made to trace him.

#### INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD

##### THE BERLIN INDIAN COMMITTEE

Information has come from Berlin regarding many Indian renegades in Europe. This shows that the community is considerably exercised in mind regarding the ultimate fate of its members, and that considerable friction exists between the Hindu and Muhammadan members. Details are given to illustrate the case with which individual renegades, even those who have not worked whole-heartedly with Germany, can obtain

grants of money from the German Foreign Office. The active organisations of the Indians at the moment are:—

1. The Orient Institute
2. The Indische Gesellschaft
3. The Hindustan Sabha.

It is not very clear to what end these different organisations are directed. The first seems to be working to maintain the pro-German and anti-British feelings of the various orientals in the lately belligerent countries. The second of which B. N. Dutt is the head is reported to be directly under the German Foreign Office, and all the Hindus in Germany belong to it. The third is the Indo-German Bolshevik Society founded about 6 months ago by Dr. Mansur, Verma and Dalip Singh with the object of spreading Bolshevism in India. It is reported to be most flourishing. According to Dalip Singh it has members in Sweden, Russia, Austria, Egypt, Turkey and America and is much helped by the local communist party in Berlin.

MARCH—No. 89.

#### PRESS AND PLATFORM BOLSHEVISM

The attitude of the Press towards Bolshevism is still following the lines indicated in a recent weekly Report. The opinion to be formed from a study of articles and speeches on the subject is that the extremist politician is becoming more and more inclined to dabble in extreme socialism. Whatever may be the individual view of socialism there can be little doubt that its doctrines combined with existing conditions in India form a dangerously inflammable mixture.

The chief exponents of Bolshevism in the press at the moment are the *Hindu* of Hyderabad (Sindh) and the small group of extremist journalists at Cawnpore who are connected with *Pratap* and the *Prabhu*. This group has been noticed in recent issues of this report. Now the *Maryada* has been inoculated with the virus. This paper belongs to Madan Mohan Malaviya whose nephew Krishna Kanto Malaviya is the editor. Its circulation is about 1,600 and it is printed at the same press as the *Abhyudaya* which has a circulation of 3,500. The United Provinces CID which reports these facts, has drawn attention to these articles in the *Maryada* for February. Of these two are written by Rama Shankar Avasthi, assistant editor of the *Pratap*.

The first article asserts that people now realise that no

amount of villification or denunciation of Bolshevism can check its onward progress. No one can be sure that it will keep within the boundaries of Russia. It has propaganda in most European countries and in America and is a great menace to capitalism and imperialism. Lenin and Trotsky are true patriots; they have crushed their enemies, improved the economic conditions of Russia and are carrying on the internal administration smoothly. Mr. Lloyd George is in favour of concluding Peace with them. They have had to go through a very difficult ordeal but have come out successful.

The *Hindu* of Hyderabad (Sindh) published on January 30th an article on the "Bolshevik danger to India" from which the following is taken:—

"In our opinion whether the Bolsheviks attack or preach their propaganda or not, if the grievances of the public against the Government continue and the quarrels between labourers and the wealthy go on, men themselves under similar provocations as have the Russians will be affected with Bolshevism; and subsequently, if similar bloodshed and disturbances occur, it will not be surprising. If this danger is not attended with risk today, it will be to-morrow. Therefore, it appears to be our duty to oppose this danger and for this we should prepare now. We should improve the condition of our backward brethren, and having shown our sympathy to them, we should strengthen the nation. Otherwise, if, like the rich people of Russia or England, we oppress the backward classes, their sorrows and grievances will re-act on this nation."

On February 2nd Jethmal Parsaram, a notorious Sindhi agitator, lectured on socialism to an audience of 300. The speaker's argument was difficult to follow, coloured as it was with facts distorted to suit his argument. He concludes by saying :

"We should get more rights of Home Rule. Officers, you are only a few. It is our country and you should give us the reins. India is not yours, seventy five per cent of Indians are poor, and if you have their reins they will starve. These poor men you should care for. When they get the votes they will trouble you very much. What you call Bolshevism is really hunger."

In reporting the lecture the Bombay Special Branch remarked that the lecture was significant for two reasons : "it shows how the extremists are deliberately fostering industrial dis-

content; and secondly how they or at any rate a section of them are prepared to welcome Bolshevism for the furtherance of their own ends. The reporting sub-Inspector notes that the whole trend of the lecture was to dispose the audience favourably towards Bolshevism."

It is perhaps worth noting here that *Gale's Magazine* of Revolutionary Communism has been advertised for sale and actually obtained in both Karachi and Bombay. The magazine is published in Mexico by a disreputable individual named Lynn E. Gale who fled from the United States during the war to avoid the draft. His magazine is openly Bolshevik and advocates "New Thot". Gale himself is an associate of Narendra Bhattacharya *alias* C. Martin in Mexico.

#### SPECIMENS OF PRO-BOLSHEVISM AND OTHER SPEECHES IN INDIA

Speaking at a Khilafat meeting at Lahore on February 8th last, Gobardhan Das, ex-convict is reported to have praised the Bolsheviks and said that the rich had no right to live so comfortably when the poor were in trouble. He described Bolshevik principles as quite natural and praiseworthy and advocated them as worth following. He wished, he said, to see Bolshevism preached and acted upon in India.

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD: Reliable information has been received to the effect that Mahendra Pratap, Abdur Rabb and Acharyya are in Kabul at the beginning of January last. They had previously spent two months in Moscow, and had passed through Turkestan on their way to Afghanistan. In January too, Barkatullah was in Moscow, but was shortly to have gone to Turkestan. Chattopadhyay in Stockholm was asked to communicate with him through the Moscow Foreign Office. The last named was also instructed that it was desirable that he, Hardayal and other Indians in Europe should get in touch with representatives of the Russian Republic in different places. Relations were also to be established between Indian communities in all parts of the world and the Russian Government. Men of integrity and principles were to be sent to Russia for propaganda work.

From Christiana it is reported that the European Indian Committee is beginning an intensive propaganda in order to undermine the reputation of the British Govt. The general ignorance of Norwegians regarding India and their sentimental character are believed to favour the revolutionists. Otherwise

Chattopadhyay is reported to be following a law-abiding life, and his sister Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is said to be lecturing on Indian subjects without reference to politics.

#### THE SOVIET'S INTEREST IN INDIA

*The Gazette de Lausanne* of February 12th has contained a remarkable article by one Sergy Persky entitled "Lenin et les Indes Britanniques." This has been a stock subject with the French Press for sometime past, but most of the articles have been merely copied from English papers. That in the Gazette was of different calibre. The writer described the disillusionment which has overtaken the American politicians who in 1918 denied that Bolshevism has any interest for them; and the disillusionment which awaits the British premier if he imagines he can confide in Lenin's promises or trust him to abandon Bolshevik propaganda when the blockade is raised. While Litvinoff exchanged sweet words at Stockholm, Moscow worked hard to Bolshevise Afghanistan and the British colonies and awaited the moment for effective work in England.... But it is India specially that they (Bolsheviks) attack."

In September 1918 the Council of Workmen and Soldiers at Moscow received five Hindus "Messengers of Indian People", really creatures of Lenin, who picturesquely described the sufferings of their compatriots and the oppression of the English. "All our hopes", they concluded, "are based on you, our brothers". "Come and deliver us and we shall bless you."

The writer then described two copies of a curious book which he had received from Moscow several months before. One copy was in Russian, the other in Hindi, and it was called :—

"India for the Indians, Blue Book ; collection of secret documents. Edition of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, 1st edition."

On the front page in large characters was printed :—

INDIA FOR THE INDIANS.

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALISTS.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL.

The volume purports to be a collection of consular reports and letters from India received during the Tsarist regime and taken from the Archives of the Imperial Foreign Office.

Describing the periodical failure of crops, famines etc. the preface declares that it is the worst of the errors to attribute these entirely to natural causes. The only rational remedy is a

complete change of the agrarian laws and the formation of a grain reserve. But England will not allow India to reserve the grain which she requires for herself, since she lives by the exploitation of her colonies. English policy towards India, both economic and administrative, is despotic in a degree equal to that of the old Tsarist regime. Neither the divine will nor the Indian workmen—so hard working and so well endowed for work, is to blame for the famines; the guilty one is the Englishman, egotistical and ferocious, who for more than a century has sucked the blood of his unfortunate victim. "This abominable policy of England" is illustrated by descriptions of the army, the police and the system of taxation.

As a result there is a national movement for liberty, which has united all classes, and is growing in strength daily with the ultimate object of throwing off the hated yoke. For England this will be a terrible blow. England without India is of no account: for this reason she has always refused to lighten her yoke. It is fair to say that England only entered the World War for the sake of India and the routes to India. Seeing danger from Germany and Austria she did not hesitate to throw one-half of Europe upon the other and finally to drag the whole civilised world into the bloody conflict.

The importance of India to England is thus enormous; and the freedom of India is thus of vital moment, and every possible means of affecting it must be employed. An Indian revolution would cause a world-wide shock, and without an independent India there can be no general peace. We must therefore not only acclaim an Indian revolution, but with every means at our disposal we must work for it directly or indirectly. Let our Indian friends take this expression of our sentiments as a formal engagement to help them. In the not distant future we shall have the joy of seeing our two revolutionary roads meet and join, not only on the ground of national enfranchisement, but also on the yet more burning soil of the struggle of the classes and of the reconstruction of a new social edifice and order.

#### LENIN & BENGAL

A report has been received which states that Lenin intends to form in Bengal an organisation based on the old Bande Mataram movement which is still vivid in the recollection of the natives. It also states that Lenin is the prime mover in the fabrication of paper money.

## INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE BOLSHEVIKS

A large amount of space has been given in recent weekly reports to account of the revival of revolutionary activity amongst Indians in Europe which has resulted under Chattopadhyay's leadership. A report has been since received from a source entirely independent from that on which previous accounts have been based. It is interesting both as largely corroborating previous information and as giving certain new facts. There are naturally discrepancies, but the main outlines of the story are in agreement with what is already known. Chatto, it is stated, was in Moscow, towards the end of 1920, and whilst there succeeded in obtaining a promise of assistance from the Soviet Government. One of the conditions imposed, however, was that Chatto should show proof that he actually represented the Indian Revolutionary and Communist Parties, and the proof asked for was a "Mandate" signed by the leading revolutionaries and Communists. Chatto was not able to produce any such mandate, but is now engaged in drawing all the well known revolutionaries into his net so that he may satisfy the Soviet Government and obtain their assistance as soon as possible. This strengthens the surmise made in a previous Weekly Report that Chatto's reorganisation scheme has been designed chiefly to attract Russian financial assistance.

Of the fact which are new, the following are the most interesting. Chatto whilst in Berlin met the leaders of the Egyptian, Persian, and Turkish Committees, as well as several Germans and Americans, and on all sides received promises of assistance and cooperation. He has been reproached for going too slow, and for holding meetings which result in nothing but talk, but he pointed out in reply that they failed badly once before, even with the greatest power at their back and their failure was to be ascribed to the fact that they did their work without due care and consideration.

Chatto has opened the old bureau of the Berlin/Indian Committee and has appointed Heramba Lal Gupta as Secretary for the time being. B. N. Dutt has been made General Secretary

for Europe of the Indian Committee. The objects of the Indian Committee agree with the information already received, but a new suggestion is the smuggling of Communist propaganda literature into India by means of (Indian?) sailors who visit various Indian ports. The Indian Committee do not consider it safe to send "trained" Indians back to India, and it is proposed to utilise the services of European Socialists and Communists for propaganda work in India.

With regard to communication with India, the Committee have come to the conclusion that the only way this can be done are:—

- (1) Either through English Socialists, or
- (2) Indian students in London.

In the case of the latter, only those are to be employed who are entirely above suspicion.

Interest now centres on Chatto's visit to Moscow, and if he can succeed in persuading the Soviet Government to give him satisfactory financial backing we may see interesting developments.

#### CHATTOPADHYAY'S GROUP

Further progress has been made in Chatto's scheme as far as commercial side is concerned. His proposal for propaganda and political activities, will probably be left in abeyance until it is known what assistance Soviet Government will give.

B. N. Das Gupta has decided to leave Switzerland and to establish the H. Q. of the Indo-European Trading Company in Germany where it is thought that most of the work will be conducted. As a further step he has secured accomodation in Berlin and Leipzig and has left Kasim to manage the branch in Zurich.

Chatto and Heramba Lal Gupta, it is now known, will not openly join the company, as Gupta is passing under the false name of Lopez and Chatto is an absconder in a Swiss political case. The share-holders of the concern will be shown as:—

B. N. Das Gupta

S. N. Das Gupta

S. K. Ray

Abdul Wahid, and

Ismail Kamil, who is described as a Barrister-at-law and a member of the Legislative Council of the Government of Ceylon.

With regard to the recruitment of Indians for training in Europe it is proposed to send S. N. Das Gupta and S. K. Ray



back to India to search for suitable men. The Soviet Government are reported to be prepared to pay all the expenses incurred in bringing Indians to Europe for this work. Some of them will go direct to Russia for training in Press Propaganda and others will be sent to the various branches of the Indo-European Trading Company for industrial training.

Chatto's Group is much exercised as to how he can get the mandate required by the Soviet Government. He had been considering the possibility of utilising his sister (Mrs. Sarojini Naidu) for the purpose of approaching revolutionary leaders of India, but was not certain if she would be given permission to return (Note—she has already sailed for India).

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

**BAKU CONFERENCE :** Details from a reliable source has been received concerning the Indian Delegates who attended the Baku Conference held last September. These are said to have been seven in number, all residents of Peshawar, and with the exception of one Abdul Kadir were by profession petty traders. Abdul Kadir who acted as leader of the delegation, is described as the only man among them who apparently had any education. The party as a whole did not take a very active part in the actual Conference though it is stated that they were well received and much appreciated.

Four other Indians are mentioned who attended the Conference, but not direct from India. These are Ray, Mukherji, Maqbul Hussain and Misri Khan. The part played by Roy at Baku, and his subsequent activity at Tashkent, are well-known. It appears he is a personal friend of Lenin—who places the greatest confidence in him. His object is not only to win "freedom" for India but also to revolutionise it into adopting Bolshevism. In a conversation with Quelch, the delegate to Baku from England, Roy gave him to understand that there were hopes of Communism being established at least in Bengal, if nowhere else. He based this statement on the ground that Bengal was the brain of India, and religious differences which work all the parts of India are less apparent in Bengal than elsewhere.

Mukherji is stated to be working under Roy's supervision in Tashkent in connection with the preparation of propaganda for India. He is described as an energetic worker well-trusted by the Bolsheviks, and he is probably identical with Abani Mukherji.

As regards the methods to be adopted for propaganda in India it seems that a great point is being made of training Russian Muhammadans with fair complexions who resemble Europeans as far as possible. It is hoped to introduce these men into India where their European appearance would have great effect with the ordinary villager.

#### PROPOSED TRANSFER OF PROPAGANDA HEADQUARTERS

Proposals are on foot for the transfer of the Indian revolutionaries in Bolshevik hands from Tashkent to Kabul. Roy is believed to be behind this proposed transfer, which finds favour with the Bolsheviks, as they require a base nearer India. Roy, Abdur Rab, and Acharyya were reported to have left Tashkent about January 20th for Moscow to attend a Conference of Indians (Note—Possibly a conference to discuss Chatto's proposals). It was considered uncertain whether Roy would himself return to Tashkent, his presence among the propagandists not conducive to peaceful and united effort. He is not in good *odour* with the Indians, who are reported to be disaffected towards their present employers. Friction has also occurred between Roy and Suritz, the Bolshevik representative at Kabul. A proposal has been made that Roy should be put in-charge of the advanced centre of propaganda at Kabul, and owing to Suritz's unwillingness to work with or under Roy, it is believed that Suritz may shortly be replaced by Legrand, the head Bolshevik representative in America.

**CHATTO'S GROUP:** It is not yet clear how far negotiations for financial assistance from Soviet Government has progressed. According to Das Gupta a definite sum has been mentioned, £50,000. This amount is however conditional on Chatto being able to satisfy Lenin, both as to his position as leader of the Indian revolutionaries and also as regards the feasibility of his schemes. Chatto has not yet been able to obtain the mandate required as a preliminary step. The mandate is to be signed by well-known persons such as Gandhi and other leaders in India and Chatto though quite able to obtain signatures of Indian revolutionaries in Europe has not yet hit upon a scheme for approaching Indian leaders in India. The position is further complicated by the attitude taken up by Roy in Russia. Roy is also claiming to be the leader of the Indian Revolutionary party. He has considerable influence with Lenin and has done his best to discredit Chatto. The latter on his part has, during recent months,

attempted to expose Roy to Lenin but apparently with little success. The matter would be simplified if Roy and Chatto would agree to work together but as far as Chatto is concerned he is not prepared to do this for the following reasons:—

- (1) Roy is not considered sufficiently clever or stable.
- (2) He is believed to have embezzled party funds.

(Note :— This last accusation was brought against him by the Indians in America with whom he worked before his flight to Mexico.)

It is probable that Chatto will utilise the visit of his sister, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, to India, to approach Gandhi and other extremist leaders on his behalf; until the result of her efforts is known matters will probably remain at a stand still.

JUNE No. 54 (DEPOSIT)

#### INDIAN ACTIVITY IN EUROPE

**CHATTO'S GROUP :** The question of obtaining financial assistance from the Soviet is still unsettled and remains the chief anxiety of Chatto and his followers. At the date of latest information (15th March) almost all the Indian revolutionary leaders were in Berlin, most probably in connection with the final settlement of the matter. At that time it was considered quite certain that the Soviets were prepared to contribute cash under certain safeguards, and Das Gupta had received a promise to that effect conveyed through the Soviet representative in Berlin. It remains to be seen what effect the signing of the Trade Agreement between Great Britain and Russia, with its stipulation against anti-British propaganda will have on these plans.

Chatto continues to direct his attention towards linking up Indian revolutionary movements in various parts of the world. In addition to Agnes Smedley of the Friends of Freedom for India, who as previously noted, has already arrived in Europe and is working as his Secretary, a proposal has been put forward that S. N. Kar should also be sent from America. If this proposal is carried out Kar will replace B. N. Dutt as head of the local Indian Committee in Berlin.

The American link has further strengthened by the arrival in Berlin of an American journalist named Lockmann. Lockmann was during the war, a financial intermediary between the organization in America and the German Embassy and has always

been in close touch with the Indian movement. He is a personal friend of Agnes Smedley and is now being used as a Bolshevik propagandist and it is reported that he will shortly be sent to London with messages from Chatto to Indians in London.

With regard to Chatto's suggestion that openly revolutionary branches of his organisation should be established in the important European Capitals, an Indian Deputation recently approached the German Government on the subject and were given to understand that the title selected "The Indian Revolutionary Society" was an objectionable one and might give rise to trouble with England. The Government proposed that the Society should camouflage itself under the title of the "Indian News Service and Information Bureau, Limited", it being understood that so far from interfering with any revolutionary activities the German Government would render the Bureau its moral and material support. The inclusion of Agnes Smedley in this Bureau is under consideration.

Friction between M. N. Roy in Russia and Chatto still continues. It appears that Roy has induced the Soviet to despatch 40,000 dollars to the San Francisco Ghadr Party. Chatto heard of this from the Soviet Representative in Berlin and tried to stop the funds being despatched but was too late. He was particularly anxious to suspend payment until all the European groups were united, under his own control. A further report regarding Roy states that he has lost influence through an anti-Amirist speech he has recently made and it is reported that at Chatto's instance Roy was summoned and reprimanded.

Chatto's schemes for uniting all Indian revolutionaries in Europe under his own control have made further progress by the enlistment of the notorious Dr. Hafiz, who has agreed to become a member of the Central Executive Committee. It has further been settled that Hafiz should go to Afghanistan and open an ammunition factory that at the expense of the Committee, with funds which (it is anticipated) will be received from the Soviet. Hafiz is an expert chemist and is at present employed in Austria in an ammunition factory.

JUNE NO. 287

**DALIP SINGH GILL :** In Weekly Report of the 2nd of May, paragraph 5, it was noted that Dalip Singh Gill has been imprisoned by the Soviet Government in Moscow as a spy, at the request of the Berlin-Indian Committee. This news has been

confirmed by a letter from Dalip Singh Gill addressed to the Latvian Consul General, Moscow, headed Buturskaya Prison Cell No. 30, Moscow, March 30th, 1921. A copy of this letter has come to our hands. It runs as follows:—

“There is no British representative in Moscow. I send you this petition and beg you to afford me help as you do to American subjects, as in accordance with the text of the trade agreement between Soviet Russia and England, published in the *Pravda* of the 22nd March, British subjects are to be immediately released. Please clear up this matter as regards my case and obtain information regarding the possibility of returning to my native land.”

This is Gill's third visit to Russia. After Gill had become a Communist in the winter of 1919 he went by Aeroplane from Berlin to Moscow, where he met various Russian leaders. He collected a considerable amount of money and on his return to Berlin, began to work on Communist lines. In the early summer of 1920 Gill again started for Russia, supplied with funds provided by Gen. Hoffman and Talat Pasha, the object of his journey being to obtain further help from Bolsheviki. This time the aeroplane was shot down by the Poles and Gill was imprisoned for some time. On his release he returned to Berlin and trained himself in a scheme to send literature from Berlin to Russia by air and thence to India. Gill again went to Moscow in January of this year and while there was imprisoned as a British spy. His protest to the Latvian Consul, that as a British subject he should be released according to the terms of the trade agreement with England, contrasts strangely with his previous record.

#### CHATTO'S GROUP AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET

It is now possible to state further developments in Chatto's scheme for uniting revolutionary work under one head. Discussions with the Soviet Government have been going in for some time with a view to arranging a meeting in Moscow of all prominent Indian revolutionaries to settle future plans and the part which Russia would play in them. This meeting was to be held in Moscow on May 25th. After a Conference lasting for two or three days it was hoped to place a complete scheme before the Soviet Government and before the Third International on the 1st of June. The subject of discussion was to be briefly

the "best method for inaugurating a revolution in India". The following individuals were expected to be present in Moscow :—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) M. N. Roy   | (8) B. N. Dutt.  |
| (2) M. P. T. Acharya  | (9) P. S. Khankhoji <i>alias</i>   |
| (3) Abdul Rab   | Aga Khan.  |
| (4) Shafiq Ahmad (Recently arrived from Afghanistan and one of the members of Provisional Government in Kabul.) | (10) G. A. K. Lohani (now definitely admitted as a member of the Committee but not on the executive) |
| (5) Amin Faruqui (Secretary of the Indian Revolutionary Party in Tashkent)                                      | (11) Nalini Gupta  |
|   | (12) Das Gupta   |
|   | (13) Agnes Smedley   |
| (6) V. Chattopadhyay  | (14) Abdul Wahid   |
| (7) Dr. Ahmad Mansur  | (15) Dr. Abdul Hafiz   |

In addition to the above, others were expected. There are 35 members on the Tashkent Indian Committee and it is probable that representatives of this Committee were to attend. From Paris Madame Cama and Rao have been invited. They were reported to be willing to go provided they could obtain permission from the French authorities. Srinivasha Vishwamitra (an Indian recently expelled from Denmark as an alleged Communist) and Chatto's brother has also been mentioned in connection with the Moscow meeting, while it is said that some Indians have been invited from England. These selections have not been made without a certain amount of opposition from the Soviet Government and its representative in Berlin, chiefly owing to the fact that some of the names in the list are those of well known nationalists. Mrs. M. N. Roy, who arrived in Berlin about the 27th of April in connection with final negotiations, in particular objected to the inclusion of Heramba Lal Gupta and stated that if he, and others like him, appeared in the Committee, the support of the Russian Soviet would be refused. The Soviet representative in Berlin confirmed Roy's statement. Chatto then wired to the Russian Government that he refused to be dictated to and threatened to break off negotiations. The result was a telegram from Chicherin himself to the effect that the Berlin Indian Committee might bring anyone they wished to the meeting at Moscow.

Incidentally, it is reported, there is no longer any doubt,

that the Soviet are already financing the Indian Revolutionary movement. Every member who goes to Moscow meeting was to have his expenses paid, and was to receive a minimum 5,000 marks. Chatto has had all his debts paid (15,000 Swedish kronens). Dr. Hafiz has been given 10,000 kronens as expenses for his wife and children. These payments have been made through the Soviet representative in Berlin.

While these difficulties were being overcome a series of preliminary meetings was held in Berlin in order to define the precise attitude the Committee should adopt, and to present a united programme to the Russian Government. This, however, after much discussion proved an impossible task. "The Friends of Freedom for India" in America, for instance, are ready to accept Russian help for a political revolution in India but they will not tolerate any Communist propaganda. The Ghadr Party of America, on the other hand, are in favour of Communism. In Berlin H. L. Gupta is against Communist propaganda, whereas B. N. Dutt is in favour of it. Barkatulla and the "Provisional Government of India" party are in favour of political revolution. M. N. Roy and his associates are out for purely Communistic work. These differences proved impossible to reconcile and it was decided that the first step should be to present a statement before the Soviet Government and the Executive of the Third International of the real position in India and thereafter as far as possible to follow their advice.

#### INDIANS IN EUROPE

##### CHATTO'S GROUP

The members of the Indian Committee were reported about the second week of May to be busy in securing passports and arranging details for their journey to Russia in view of the meeting of Indian revolutionaries in Moscow. A copy of a letter given by Chatto to a fellow conspirator shows how matters were being arranged.

BERLIN C/O VICTOR KOPP  
3rd May 1921.

Dear Comrade Vorovsky,

This is to introduce to you Mr.— who will shortly proceed to Moscow along with the Indian Delegation to take part in the forthcoming congress.

He will perhaps bring with him two or three other Indian comrades, and I should be very much obliged if you would give them all the necessary help for their journey. It is extremely essential that they should reach Moscow in time for the Congress. Instructions with regard to their journey have already been wired from Moscow to the Legation here. We should be very much obliged if you would allow them to send their correspondence and reports by your courier, C/O Karakhan, Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

It is over two years now since I met you at your legation in Stockholm, and you were not in Moscow when I was there last winter. I hope that we shall meet again, either in Moscow or in Rome.

With comradely greetings,

Yours sincerely,

Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya.

To prevent mistakes, kindly consult bearer's passport.

N. B.—Victor Kopp is the Soviet representative in Berlin. Vorovsky was at one time the representative of the Soviet Government in Stockholm.

It appears that H. L. Gupta is to remain in Berlin, where he will be in-charge of affairs during Chatto's absence. It has been suggested that the ultimate destination of all the Indians who are going to Moscow will be Afghanistan. This is possible, but it is clear that their movements after the Moscow Conference will depend on the decision arrived at by the Soviet Government and up to the present no information on this point has been received.

JUNE No. 55

**INDIANS IN BERLIN :** The Berlin Indian Committee has recently been suffering from an epidemic of "Spy Mania". At their request Dalip Singh Gill has been imprisoned by the Soviet Government in Moscow. Dr. Mansur, who was formerly working with Dalip Singh Gill in Berlin is now being carefully watched though he is in other respects free. At present he is giving Hindustani lessons in Berlin.

Ram Bhattacharji in Berlin is also regarded as a spy and was brought to task by the Committee, and asked to clear himself. This he did by giving certain references and by showing that he had some of his teeth knocked out by the Indian Police.



Pending further enquiries the Committee will have nothing to do with him. S. K. Roy in Switzerland and Mookerji who attended the Baku Conference as an Indian delegate are also suspected and according to B. N. Dutta, Mookerji is to be shot at sight. Of lesser known individuals Varma and Kaul (not identical with P. N. Kaul) are also regarded as British spies. In Paris A. Ghosh is under strong suspicion.

The arrival of Agnes Smedley (of the F.F.I.) in Berlin has already been mentioned. It has now been ascertained that she made the journey from America by enlisting as a stewardess on an American Ship under the name of Miss Bird. On landing at Danzig the only document she could produce was a paper showing her as a stewardess. She then wired to B. N. Dutta who arranged with the Berlin Foreign Office that this paper should be visaed authorizing her to proceed to Berlin. Chatto has now managed to get her a German passport, and it is rumoured he proposes to marry her.

#### CHATTO'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET

It is now possible to indicate the general trend of the negotiations which have taken place between the Berlin Indian Committee and Moscow. Chatto has unsuccessfully carried out his schemes for linking up the revolutionary centres in Europe. He is in touch with American groups, such as the Friends of Freedom for India, and has enlisted under his banner most of the prominent Indian seditionists in Europe, and he has formulated an ambitious plan of work which only requires money to be put into execution. Having reached this stage, his next step was to approach the Soviet Government, as the leader of the Indian Communist Party, for financial assistance. To investigate his claims and the representative nature of his Society, the Soviet Government sent an agent to Berlin early in March with a view to test Chatto's statement that his Society fully represented Indian opinion. The agent demanded a mandate signed by the well-known Indian leaders such as Gandhi, etc. Chatto could not produce the required mandate but he promised it would be shortly forthcoming and further argued, "If you could believe one man, M. N. Roy, who has no mandate from Indians why should you not believe us—a Society?"

(Note — Chatto is reported to have hit on the idea of utilizing his sister Mrs. Naidu to approach Indian leaders on her return to India,

in order to obtain their signatures. Mahamed Ali in a recent speech, in which he alluded to the intention of Government to arrest him on some "absurd pretexts" and said that such a pretext might be a charge of conspiring with Bolsheviks through Mrs. Naidu.)

Ultimately it appears the agent was satisfied and promised to recognize Chatto's organization and returned to Moscow having promised that he would send them 100,000 roubles. It was at this stage that Chatto wrote to one of his confederates explaining the situation, and the statement that Chatto had at last arranged for financial support from the Soviet, which appeared in a recent Weekly Report, was based on this letter. Later information, however, shows that negotiations have not yet been concluded.

In the third week of March a letter and telegram from Moscow was received by Chatto stating that it would be impossible to send the promised assistance as M. N. Roy stood in the way. Roy, it seems, advised the Soviet that Chatto's group is a Nationalist Party and not a Communist Party. "They are the very people who were Nationalists at the time of the war for German money, now they have found Russian money and are Communists." The Soviet agent stated that it was against communist principles to help Nationalists. After receiving this news the Indian Committee in Berlin were at a loss how to proceed, discussed innumerable plans which included a scheme for the murder of Roy. They were considering the advisability of going in a body to Russia and of making a final appeal for support when the agent of the Soviet Government returned to Berlin at the beginning of April.

At the date of latest information negotiations had been resumed. Chatto had wired to Abdul Wahid, B. N. Das Gupta and Dr. Hafiz, probably with a view to calling them to Berlin and possibly with the intention of taking them with him when he goes to Moscow.

The opposition of Roy is clearly responsible for the set back which Chatto has experienced in his negotiations with the Soviet. Information which we recently received states that Roy's attitude has now been made clear, as he has made an offer of cooperation with the Indians in Berlin provided they accept his terms. The terms include strict adherence to communism and the acceptance of Roy as leader. It is the last condition which is responsible for hesitation to close with Roy's offer. Heramba Lal Gupta, in particular, who has much influence in the party, is absolutely opposed to working under Roy.

**MANIFESTO TO THE DELEGATES OF THE XXXVI  
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

**Fellow Countrymen,**

You have met in a very critical moment of the history of our country to decide various questions affecting gravely the future of the national life and progress. The Indian nation today stands on the eve of a great revolution, not only political but economic and social as well. The vast mass of humanity, which inhabits the great peninsula, has begun to move towards a certain goal; it is awakening after centuries of social stagnation resulting from economic and political oppression. The National Congress has placed itself at the head of this movement. Yours is a very difficult task, and the way before you is beset with obstacles almost insuperable and pitfalls treacherous and troublesome. The mission of leading the people of India onward to the goal of national liberation is great and you have made this great mission your own. The National Congress is no longer a holiday gathering engaged in idle debates and futile resolution making; it has become a political body—the leader of the movement of national liberation.

The newly acquired political importance obliges the Congress to change its philosophical background; it must cease to be a subjective body; its deliberations and decisions should be determined by the objective conditions prevailing and not according to the notions, desires and prejudices of its leaders. It was so when the Congress, national in name only, was the political organ which expressed the opinions and aspiration of a small group of men who ruled over it. If the old Congress dominated by the Mehta-Gokhale-Bose-Banerji combination is dead, and discarded from the field of pragmatic politics, it is because these men wanted to build a nation after their own image; they did not and could not take into consideration the material they had to work with; they failed to feel the pulse of the people; they knew what they thought and wanted, but they did not know, neither did they care to know what the people, the people which constituted that nation which their Congress also pretended to represent,—needed for its welfare, for its progress. The old Congress landed in political bankruptcy because it could not make the necessities of the common people its own; it took for granted that its demands for administrative and fiscal reforms reflected the interest of the man in the street; the “grand old men” of the

Moderate Party believed that intellect and learning were their invariable mandates for the leadership of the nation. This lamentable subjectivism, originating from defective or total absence of understanding of the social forces that underlie and give strength to all movements, made the venerable fathers of Indian Nationalism betray their own child; and it led them to their own ruin, disgrace and political death. You, leaders of the new congress, should be careful not to make the same mistake; because the same mistake will lead to the same disaster.

The programme of the Congress under the leadership of the Non-co-operation Party, is to attain Swaraj within the shortest possible time. It has discarded the old impotent tactics of securing petty reforms by means of constitutional agitation. Proudly and determinedly, the Congress has raised the standard with "Swaraj within a Year" written on it. Under this banner, the people of India are invited to unite; holding this banner high you exhort them to march forward till the goal is reached. This is indeed a noble cause. It is but natural that the people of India should fight for the right of ruling itself. But the function of the Congress, as leader of the nation, is not only to point out the goal, but to lead the people step by step towards the goal. From its activities of the last year, it is apparent that the Congress understands its task and is trying to find the best way of executing it. The people must be infused with enthusiasm to fight for Swaraj; they must be united in this struggle, because without union the goal will not be attained.

Why was the old Congress discredited? Because it could not make the national question a vital problem for the people. Under the old leaders, the Congress was caught in the cesspool of political pedantry and petty reformism. Not much greater results can be expected if these are to be replaced by abstract idealism and political confusion. In order to deserve the name and to be able to execute the difficult task set before it, the National Congress must not permit itself to be carried away by the sentiment and idealism of a handful of individuals however great and patriotic they may be; it must take into consideration the cold material facts; it must survey with keenness the everyday life of the people,—their wants and sufferings. Ours is not a mere political game; it is a great social struggle.

The greatest problem before the 36th Congress is how to enlist the full-hearted support of the people in the national cause,—how to make the ignorant masses follow the banner of

**Swaraj.** In order to solve this problem, the first thing necessary is to know what is it that ails the masses ? What do they want ? What is needed for improving the immediate environment of their material existence ? Because only by including the redress of their immediate grievances in its programme will the Congress be able to assume the practical leadership of the masses of the people ?

Several thousand noisy, irresponsible students and a number of middle-class intellectuals followed by an ignorant mob momentarily incited by fanaticism, cannot be the social basis of the political organ of a nation. The toiling masses in the cities, the dumb millions in the villages must be brought into the ranks of the movement if it is to be potential. How to realize this mass organization is the vital problem before the Congress. How can the man working in the factories or labouring on the fields be convinced that national independence will put an end to his sufferings ? It is not a fact that hundreds of thousands of workers employed in the mills and factories owned by rich Indians, not a few of whom are leaders of the national movement, live in a condition unbearable and are treated in a manner revolting ? Of course by prudent people such discomforting questions would be hushed in the name of the national cause. The argument of these politicians is "let us get rid of the foreign domination first." Such cautious political acumen may be flattering to the upper classes ; but the poor workers and peasants are hungry. If they are to be led on to fight, it must be for the betterment of their material condition. The slogan which will correspond to the interest of the majority of the population and consequently will electrify them with enthusiasm to fight consciously, is "LAND TO THE PEASANT AND BREAD TO THE WORKER". The abstract doctrine of national self-determination leaves them passive ; personal charms create enthusiasm loose and passing.

How can the Congress expect to arouse lasting popular enthusiasm in the name of the Khalifat and by demanding the revision of the treaty of Sèvres ? The high politics behind such slogans may be easy for the learned intellectuals to understand ; but it is beyond the comprehension of the masses of Indian people who have been steeped in ignorance not only by the foreign ruler, but by our own religious and social institutions. Such propaganda based on the questionable doctrine of utilizing the ignorance of the masses in order to make them do the bidding of the Congress, cannot be expected to produce the desired

result. If the masses of the Indian people are to be drawn into the struggle for national freedom, it will not be done by exploiting their ignorance. Their consciousness must be aroused first of all. They must know what they are fighting for. And the cause for which they fight must include their immediate needs. What does the man in the street need? The only aspiration of his life is to get two meals a day, which he hardly achieves. And such are the people who constitute 90% of the nation. Therefore, it is evident that any movement not based on the interests of these masses cannot be of any lasting importance or of formidable power.

The programme of the Congress has to be denuded of all sentimental trimmings; it should be dragged down from the height of abstract idealism; it must talk of the things indispensable for mortal life of the common human being; it must echo the modest aspirations of the toiling masses; the object for which the Indian people will fight should not be looked for somewhere in the unknown regions of Mesopotamia or Arabia or Constantinople; it should be found in their immediate surroundings,—in their huts, on the land, in the factory. Hungry mortals cannot be expected to fight for an abstract ideal. The Congress must not always urge the people, which can be called the classical example of suffering and sacrifice personified, to suffer and sacrifice only. The first signs of the end of their age-long suffering should be brought within their vision. They should be helped in their economic fights. The Congress can no longer defer the formulation of a definite programme of economic and social reconstruction. The formulation of such constructive programme advocating the redress of the immediate grievances of the suffering masses, demanding the improvement of their present miserable condition, is the principal task of the 36th Congress.

Mr. Gandhi was right in declaring that "the Congress must cease to be a debating society of talented lawyers", but if it is to be, as he prescribes in the same breath, an organ of the "merchants and manufacturers", no change will have been made in its character, in so far as the interest of the majority of the people are concerned. It will not be any more national than its predecessor. It will not meet any more dignified end. If it is to represent and defend the interest of one class viz. the merchants and manufacturers, it cannot but fail to take care of the common people. The inevitable consequence of this failure will

be the divorce of the Congress from the majority of the nation. The merchants and manufacturers alone cannot lead the national struggle to a successful end ; neither will the intellectuals and petty shop-keepers add any appreciable strength to the movement. What is indispensable is the mass energy : the country can be free, Swaraj can be realized, only with the conscious action of the masses of the people. In order to be able to execute its task, the Congress must know how to awaken the mass energy, how to lead the masses to the field of resolute action. But the tactics of the Congress betray its lamentable indifference to and lack of understanding of the popular interest. The Congress proposes to exploit the ignorance of the people and expects them to follow its lead blindly. This cannot happen. If the leader remains indifferent to the interest of the follower, the two will soon fall asunder. The masses are awakening ; they are showing signs of vigor ; they are signifying their readiness to fight for their own interest ; the programme of using them as mere instrument, which are to be kept in their proper place, will soon prove ineffective. If the Congress makes the mistake of becoming the political apparatus of the propertied class, it must forfeit the title to the leadership of the nation. Unfailing social forces are constantly at work ; they will make the workers and peasants conscious of their economic and social interests, and ere long the latter will develop their own political party which will refuse to be led astray by the upper class politicians.

Non-cooperation cannot unify the nation. If we dare to look the facts in the face, it has failed. It is bound to fail because it does not take the economic laws into consideration. The only social class in whose hand non-cooperation can prove to be a powerful weapon, that is the working class, has not only been left out of the programme, but the prophet of Non-cooperation himself declared "it is dangerous to make political use of the factory workers". So the only element, which on account of its social-economic position, could make Non-cooperation a success is left out. The reason is not hard to find ; the defenders of the interests of the merchants and manufacturers betray unconsciously their apprehension lest wage-earners should be encouraged to question the right of exploitation conceded to the propertied class by all respectable society. The other classes which are called upon to non-cooperate, being dependent eco-

nomically on the present system, cannot separate themselves from it, even it is damned as "satanic" by the highest authorities.

Non-cooperation may prove to be a suitable weapon to fight, or better said, to embarrass the foreign bureaucracy, but at best, it is merely destructive. The possible end of foreign domination, in itself, is not sufficient inducement for the people at large. They should be told in clear terms what benefit would accrue to them from the establishment of Swaraj. They should be convinced that national autonomy will help them solve the problem of physical existence. Neither will empty phrases and vague promises serve the purpose; it has to be demonstrated by the acts of the Congress that proposes to achieve the amelioration of the people's suffering, and that it will not neglect the immediate needs of the poor in quest of abstract freedom to be realized at some future date.

For the defence and furtherance of the interests of the native manufacturers, the programme of Swadeshi and boycott is plausible. It may succeed in harming the British capitalist class and thus bring an indirect pressure on the British Government, though being based on wrong economics, its chances of ultimate success are very problematical. But as a slogan for uniting the people under banner of Congress, the boycott is doomed to failure; because it does not correspond, nay it is positively contrary, to the economic condition of the vast majority of the population. If the Congress chooses to base itself on the frantic enthusiasm for burning foreign cloth, it will be building castles on a bed of quick sand. Such enthusiasm cannot last; the time will soon come when people will feel the scarcity of cloth and as long as there will be cheap foreign cloth in the market there can be no possibility of inducing the poor to go naked rather than to buy it. The *Charka* has been relegated to its well-deserved place in the museum; to expect that in those days of machinery it can be revived and made to supply the need of 320 millions of human beings, is purely visionary. The boycott will enlist the support of the manufacturers, but it will never receive a dependable response from the consumers. Then, all the doctrines of purifying the soul may be good for the opulent intellectuals, but their charm for the starving millions cannot be permanent. Physical needs know no bounds, and a political movement cannot be sublimated beyond material reasons and necessities. They are mistaken who say that Indian civili-



zation is purely spiritual, and that the Indian people are not subject to the same material laws that determine the destinies of the rest of humanity.

While for any serious or lasting purposes, the Non-co-operation programme cannot be said to have achieved a small part of what was expected, the 36th Congress intends to go a step further on the road of Non-co-operation. To their great discomfiture the leaders of the Congress observe the popular enthusiasm evoked by Khalifat agitation, and Non-co-operation subsiding day by day. The enlisting of several lakhs of members and the raising of the Tilak-Swaraj Fund cannot be accepted as a clear reflection of the popular support behind the Congress. Pessimism about the solidity of ranks and tenacity of purpose of the Non-co-operation demonstration has of late been repeatedly expressed by responsible Congress leaders both from the press and platform. To enlist his name in the Congress register and to contribute a rupee to the Swaraj Fund does not necessarily imply that a member will be ready to take active part in the struggle. In order to keep the artificially fomented popular enthusiasm alive, the leaders of the Congress have been looking for new diversions of an exciting character. But either consciously or unconsciously, they would not lay their hand on the real cause of popular discontent and develop their discontent by helping the masses acquire consciousness. Instead, another irresponsible step has been taken. Without waiting for the annual Congress, the All-India Committee has sanctioned Civil Disobedience. But the very language of the resolution shows that its authors themselves are in doubt as to whether it can be carried into practice any better than the other aspects of Non-co-operation. The resolution asks "those who could support themselves to leave the government services". Considering the fact that the proportion of the government employees unable to make both ends meet one day without their miserable salary, is almost 90%, it cannot be expected that the response to this ukase will be very imposing.

Civil Disobedience when carried into practice, will be some sort of a national strike. If everybody stops working the government will be paralysed. But is the Congress certain that everybody will readily respond to its call? If it is, then it betrays lamentable ignorance of the material condition of the people, as well as of the economic laws that determine all social forces and political actions. On leaving their civil and military occupation

thousands and thousands of people will be without any means of livelihood; is the Congress in a position to find work for them? And it should not be forgotten that the lower middle-class element employed in the government departments, will never stoop to manual work. The Congress leaders seem to appreciate the complexity of the situation; because, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, "they are not prepared to provide employment for those soldiers who would leave the army". With the disastrous effects of the exodus of the Assam plantation workers still fresh in memory, how can it be expected that the same tactics would not be followed by the same result in the future? The political organ of a nation cannot execute its task only with popular demonstrations. Our object is not confined to bothering the government; we are struggling for freedom. It cannot be realized unless the activities of the Congress are determined by a constructive programme; unless the leadership of the Congress becomes more responsible and less demagogic.

Taken light-heartedly, the resolution of Civil Disobedience will end in making the Congress ridiculous. Because, in spite of all optimism, all enthusiasm, the Congress does not represent the interests of all the sections and classes of which the nation is composed. Much less does it advocate the material welfare of the workers and peasants who form the overwhelming majority of the nation. What is the use of speaking in high-sounding language when the speeches are not backed up by action, determined and permanent? The spirit of the people cannot be raised by such impotent tactics; nor is the government terrorised. They only discredit the speaker, sooner or later. The threat of declaring *Jehad* unless the Khaliphate is redeemed has become too hackneyed; the deferring of the establishment of Swaraj month by month fails to inspire confidence in thinking people. Why do these bombastic resolutions of the Congress never come out of the airy realm of words? Because the Congress does not determine its tactics in accordance with the play of social forces.

It is simply deluding oneself to think that the great ferment of popular energy expressed by the strikes in the cities and agrarian riots in the country, is the result of the Congress or, better-said, of the Non-co-operation agitation. No, it is neither the phillippics against the "satanic western civilization", nor the constant reiteration of the Punjab wrongs, nor the abstract formula of Khalifat that have awakened the discontent of the wretched masses, who appear to have once and for all shaken

off the spirit of passive resignation. The cause of this awakening, which is the only factor that has added real vigor and a show of majesty to the national struggle, is to be looked for in their age-long economic exploitation and social slavery. The mass revolt is directed against the propertied class, irrespective of nationality. This exploitation had become intense long since, but the economic crisis during the war-period accentuated it. The seething discontent among the masses, which broke out in open revolt after the war, was not, as the Congress would have it, because the Government betrayed all its promises,—but because the abnormal trade boom in the aftermath of the war intensified the economic exploitation to such an extent that people were desperate, and all bonds of patience were broken.

Newly developed industries brought hundreds and thousands of workers to the crowded cities where they were thrown into a condition altogether revolting. Sudden prosperity of the merchants and manufacturers brought in its train increased poverty and suffering for the workers. City life opened new visions to the workers hitherto resigned to their miserable lot as ordained by Providence. The inequality of wealth and comfort became too glaring. The worker got over the lethargic resignation typical of the Indian peasantry, and rebelled. His revolt, under such circumstances could not have been against this or that government; it was against the brutal system that wanted to crush him to the dust. Mass revolt is alarmingly contagious. The spirit was soon carried to the villages by various channels, and resulted in agrarian riots, which today are spreading like wild-fire all over the country. These are the development of the social forces generated by objective conditions. The political movement must give up the pretention of having created these forces, but must bend its head before their majestic strides and adapt itself to their action and reaction. It is these social forces which lend potentiality and real strength to the political movement. In fact every political movement is the outcome of the development of certain social forces.

What has the Congress done to lead the workers and peasants in their economic struggle? It has tried so far only to exploit the mass movement for its political ends. In every strike or peasant revolt the non-co-operators have sacrificed the economic interest of the strikers for a political demonstration. The Congress from its intellectual, ideological and material aloofness, demands Swaraj and expects the masses of population

to follow it through thick and thin. It does not hesitate to call upon the poverty-stricken workers and peasants to make all kinds of sacrifices,—sacrifices which are to be made in the name of national welfare, but which contribute more to the benefit of the native wealthy than to harm the foreign ruler. The Congress claims the political leadership of the nation, but every act betrays its ignorance of or indifference to the material interest of the majority of the people. So long the Congress does not show its capability and desire to make the everyday struggle of the masses its own, it will not be able to secure their steady and conscious support. Of course, it should not be forgotten that with or without the leadership of the Congress, the workers and peasants will continue their own economic and social struggle and eventually conquer what they need. They don't need so much the leadership of the Congress but the latter's political success depends entirely on the conscious support of the masses. Let not the Congress believe that it has won the unconditional leadership of the masses without having done anything to defend their material interests.

His personal character may lead the masses to worship the Mahatmaji; strikers engaged in a struggle for securing a few pice increase of wages may shout "Mahatmaji-ki-Jai"; the first fury of rebellion may lead them to do many things without any conceivable connection with what they are really fighting for; their newly aroused enthusiasm, choked for ages by starvation, may make them burn their last piece of loin-cloth; but in their sober moment what do they ask for? It is not political autonomy, nor is it the redemption of the Khalifat. It is the petty, but imperative necessities of every day life that egg them on to the fight. The workers in the cities demand higher wages, shorter hours, better living conditions; and the poor peasantry fight for the possession of land, freedom from excessive rents and taxes, redress from the exorbitant exploitation by the landlord. They rebel against exploitation, social and economic; it does not make any difference to them to which nationality the exploiter belongs. Such are the nature of the forces that are really and objectively revolutionary; and any change in the political administration of the country will be effected by these forces. The sooner the Congress understands this, the better.

If the Congress aspires to assume the leadership of the masses without founding itself upon the awakening mass energy, it will soon be relegated to the dead past in order to share the

ignominy of its predecessor. To enlist the conscious support of the masses, it should approach them not with high politics and towering idealism, but with the readiness to help them secure their immediate wants, then gradually to lead them further ahead. It is neither the Khalifat cry, nor the Boycott resolution, nor the absurd doctrine of "back to the Vedas with Charka in hand", nor the scheme of making the middle-class intellectuals and petty shop-keepers declare a national strike that will unite the majority of the nation behind the Congress. Words cannot make people fight; they have to be impelled by irresistible objective forces. The oppressed, pauperized, miserable workers and peasants are bound to fight, because there is no hope left for them. The Congress must have the workers and peasants behind it; and it can win their lasting confidence only when it ceases to sacrifice them ostensibly for a higher cause, namely the so-called national interest, but really for the material prosperity of the merchants and manufacturers. If the Congress would lead the revolution which is shaking India to the very foundation, let it not put its faith in mere demonstrations and temporary wild enthusiasm. Let it make the immediate demands of the Trade-Unions, as summarized by the Cawnpur workers, its own demands; let it make the programme of the Kisan Sabhas its own programme, and the time will soon come when the Congress will not stop before any obstacle; it will not have to lament that Swaraj cannot be declared on a fixed date because the people have not made enough sacrifice. It will be backed by the irresistible strength of the entire people consciously fighting for the material interest. Failing to do so, with all its zeal for Non-co-operation, for all its determination to have the Sevres treaty revised, despite its doctrine of Soul-Force, the Congress will have to give in to another organization which will grow out of ranks of the common people with the object of fighting for their interests. If the Congress wants to have the nation behind it, let it not be blinded by the interest of a small class; let it not be guided by the unseen hand of the "merchants and manufacturers" who have replaced the "talented lawyers" in the Congress, and when the present tactics seek to install in the place of Satanic British.

While the Congress under the banner of Non-co-operation, has been dissipating the revolutionary forces, a counter-revolutionary element has appeared in the field to mislead the latter. Look out, the revolutionary zeal of the workers is subsiding, as shown by the slackening of the strike movement; the Trade

Unions are falling in the hands of reformists, adventurers and government agents; the Aman Sabhas are captivating the attention of the poor peasants by administering to their immediate grievances. The government knows where lies the strength of the movement; it is trying to divorce the masses from the Congress. This clever policy directed by master hands, cannot be counteracted by windy phrases and sentimental appeals. Equally clever steps should be taken. The consciousness of the masses must be awakened; that is the only way of keeping them steady in the fight.

Fellow Countrymen, a few words about Hindu-Moslem unity, which has been given such a prominent place in the Congress programme. The people of India are divided by vertical lines, into innumerable sects, religions, creeds and castes. To seek to cement these cleavages by artificial and sentimental propaganda is a hopeless task. But fortunately, and perhaps to the great discomfiture of some orthodox patriots, who believe that India is a special creation of Providence, there is one mighty force that spontaneously divides all these innumerable sections horizontally into two homogeneous parts. This is the economic force: the exploitation of the disinherited by the propertied class. This force is in operation in India, and is effecting the innumerable vertical lines of social cleavage, while divorcing the two great classes further apart. The inexorable working of this force is drawing the Hindu workers and peasants closer and closer to their Moslem comrades. This is the only agency of Hindu-Moslem unity. Whoever will be bold enough to depend on the ruthless march of this force of social-economics, will not have to search frantically for pleas by which the Musulman can be induced to respect the cow, nor to make the ignorant Hindu peasants believe that the salvation of his soul and the end of his earthly misery lies in the redemption of the Khalifat or the subjugation of the Armenians by the Turks. Hindu-Moslem unity is not to be cemented by sentimentality; it is being realised practically by the development of economic forces. Let us concentrate and depend on the objective.

Fellow Countrymen, let the Congress reflect the needs of the nation and not the ambition of a small class. Let the Congress cease to engage in political gambling and vibrate in response to the social forces developing in the country. Let it prove by deeds that it wants to end foreign exploitation not to secure the monopoly to the native propertied class, but to liberate the

Indian people from all exploitation, political, economic and social. Let it show that it really represents the people and can lead them in their struggle in every stage of it. Then the Congress will secure the leadership of the nation, and Swaraj will be won not on a particular day selected according to the caprice of some individuals, but by the conscious and concerted action of the masses.

Manabendra Nath Roy  
Abani Mukherji

**1922**

**TO THE ALL INDIA NATIONAL CONGRESS, GAYA, INDIA  
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE.**

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International sends to you its heartiest greetings. We are chiefly interested in the struggle of the Indians to free themselves from British domination. In this historic struggle you have the fullest sympathy and revolutionary proletarian masses of the imperialist countries including Great Britain.

We communists are quite aware of the predatory nature of Western Imperialism, which brutally exploits the peoples of the East and has held them forcibly in a backward economic state, in order that the insatiable greed of capitalism can be satisfied. The infamous methods by which British imperialism sucks the life blood of the Indian people, are well known. They cannot be condemned too strongly; nor will simple condemnation be of any practical value. British rule in India was established by force and is maintained by force; therefore it can and will be overthrown only by a violent revolution. We are in favour of resorting to violence if it can be helped; but for self-defence, the people of India must adopt violent means, without which the foreign domination based upon violence cannot be ended. The people of India are engaged in this great revolutionary struggle. The Communist International is wholeheartedly with them.

#### **THE GOAL OF REVOLUTIONARY-NATIONALISM**

The economic, social, and cultural progress of the Indian people demands the complete separation of India from imperialist Britain. To realise this separation is the goal of revolutionary nationalism. This goal, however, cannot be attained by negotiation nor by peaceful means. Imperial connection in any form stands for nothing less than the control of the destinies of the Indian people by and for the interests of British ruling class; at best this control will be exercised in conjunction with the motive upper classes. But the control will be there, obstructing the freedom of the nation.



### REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM—THE WATCHWORD OF REVOLUTION

Dislocation of world capitalist economy coupled with the strengthening of the world revolutionary nationalist movement caused by the awakening of the expropriated masses, in forcing imperialism to change its old methods of exploitation. It endeavours to win over the co-operation of the propertied upper classes by making them concessions. From the very beginning of its history the British Government found a reliable ally in the feudal land owning class, whose dissolution was prevented by obstructing the growth of higher means of production. Feudalism and its relics are the bulwark of reaction; economic forces, but give rise to the national consciousness of the people, cannot be developed without undermining their social foundation. So the forces that are inimical to British imperialism are, at the same time, dangerous to the security of the feudal lords and modern landed aristocracy. Hence the loyalty of the latter to the foreign ruler.

The immediate economic interests of the propertied upper classes, as well as the prosperous intellectuals engaged either in liberal professions or high Government offices too closely inter-linked with the established order to permit them to favour a revolutionary change. Therefore, they preach revolutionary Nationalism whose programme is "self government within the Empire" to be realised gradually by peaceful and legal means.

This programme of constitutional democracy will not be opposed by the British Government for ever, since it does not interfere with the final authority of imperialism. On the contrary its protagonists are the potential pillars of imperial domination.

### FREEDOM OR SLAVERY—THERE IS NO MIDDLE COURSE

The policy of liberal imperialism heralded in 1909 by the Morley-Minto Reforms and inaugurated in 1919 by the introduction by the Government of India Act, will culminate sooner or later in Home Rule or Dominion status for India. The repetition of the fiasco of the Irish Free State and Egyptian "Independence" can be expected in India. Those who look upon any such ventuality as a solution of the national question are to be counted as the henchmen of imperialism. The movement led by the National Congress must rid itself of all such elements and be free from any illusion about a "change of heart" on the

part of the British. The Indian people must be free or be crushed to death by British imperialism; there is no middle course. And the people of India will never liberate themselves from the present slavery without a sanguinary revolutionary struggle.

The social basis of a revolutionary nationalist movement cannot be all inclusive, because economic reasons do not permit all the classes to participate in it. Only those sections of the people, therefore whose economic interests cannot be reconciled with imperialist exploitation under any make-shift arrangement, constitute the backbone of your movement. These sections embrace the overwhelming majority of the nation, since they include the bankrupt middle classes, pauperised peasantry and the exploited workers. To the extent that these objectively revolutionary elements are led away from the influences of social reaction, and are freed from vacillating and compromising leadership, tied up spiritually and materially with the feudal aristocracy and capitalist upper classes, to that extent grows the strength of the nationalist movement.

The last two years were a period of mighty revolutionary upheaval in India. The awakening of the peasantry and of the proletariat struck terror in the heart of the British. But the leadership of the National Congress failed the movement in this intensely revolutionary situation.

#### RELATION BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE STRUGGLE OF OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES

The relation of the Communist International with the struggle of the oppressed peoples is inspired by revolutionary idealism and based upon mutual interests. Our sympathy and support are not confined to empty phrases couched in sweet words. We must stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of India in their struggle against imperialism; therefore we will fail in our revolutionary duty if we do not point out to you the mistake that weaken the struggle and harm the cause of Indian independence.

In leading the struggle for national liberation the Indian National Congress should keep the following points always in view.

1. That the normal development of the people cannot be assured unless imperialist domination is completely destroyed.
2. That no compromise with the British rulers will improve the position of the majority of the nation.

3. That the British domination cannot be overthrown, without a violent revolution and

4. That the workers and peasants are alone capable of carrying the revolution to victory.

#### THE PROGRAMME OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

Therefore, in order to declare its complete freedom from all connection with the reactionary upper classes, the National Congress should categorically declare that its political programme is the establishment of a Democratic Republic, completely independent of any foreign control. The vast majority of the nation that is the toiling masses, will rally round this programme, since their present condition cannot be improved without a radical change in the existing system. Tireless and courageous agitation has to be carried on to win the masses for the cause of national liberation. The present spontaneous mass upheaval provides a very fertile field of propaganda. The necessity of developing the revolutionary consciousness of the masses demands the adoption of an economic programme, in addition to the political programme of a republic to be established through a revolution. By leading the rebellious poor peasantry against the reactionary and loyalist land aristocracy, the Congress will on the one hand strike its roots deeply into the masses, and on the other, will assail the very bedrock of British rule. The native army, which maintains British domination in India, is recruited from among the poor peasantry. So a programme of agrarian revolution will win the native troops to the cause of national freedom.

In conclusion we express our confidence in the ultimate success of your cause which is the destruction of British imperialism by the revolutionary might of the masses.

Let us assure you again of the support and co-operation of the advanced proletariat of the world in this historic struggle of the Indian people.

Down with British Imperialism. Long Live the Free people of India.

With fraternal greetings,  
Presidium of the Fourth Congress of the  
Communist International  
Humbert Droz  
Secretary.

### A PROGRAMME FOR THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Our movement has reached a stage when the adoption of a definite Programme of National Liberation as well as of Action can no longer be deferred. A programme of National Liberation must be formulated in order to state the position of those who do not believe in half way and the so-called "evolutionary" methods advocated by the compromising Liberals. The ambiguous term swaraj is open to many definitions and in fact it has been defined in various ways according to the interests and desires of the different elements participating in our movement. Such a vague objective is certainly not conducive to the strengthening of a movement, on the contrary, it makes for weakness. Then, a militant Programme of Action has become indispensable in order to mobilize under the banner of the National Congress all the available revolutionary forces. The nation is not a homogeneous whole : it is divided into classes with diverse and often conflicting interests. All these various social classes struggle for their respective interests. They all believe that national Liberation will remove their grievances. Therefore the Programme of the National Congress which is not a cohesive political party, but the traditional organ of our National Struggle, cannot be according to the interests of one certain class. The National Congress is a Coalition of all the forces oppressed by foreign domination therefore its programme must be a Coalition Programme.

First of all, we must define what form of National self-government is needed for the welfare of the majority of the nation ; then is to be formulated the methods of the struggle which will lead to the realisation of this National self-government.

### PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

It is a well known fact that the domination of foreign imperialism has led to the economic ruin, industrial stagnation, social degeneration and intellectual backwardness of the people of India. The woeful tale of the unlimited exploitation and heartless suppression suffered by the Indian people at the hand of the British rulers has soiled the pages of history. The basis of our National movement is the necessity of the Indian people to free itself from this slavery. So long as the political State power is controlled by the foreign imperialist, no substantial economic and social progress will be permitted to the masses of

the population. Therefore, the first and foremost objective of the national struggle is to secure the control of the National Government by the elected representatives of the people. But this cannot be achieved with the sanction and benevolent protection of the imperialist overlords, as the renegade patriots of the Liberal League think because any measure of self-government or Home Rule or Swaraj under the imperial hegemony of Britain will not amount to anything. Such steps are calculated only to deceive the people. They are camouflage. As the leader of the struggle for National Liberation, the Congress must boldly challenge such measures and declare in unmistakable terms that its goal is nothing short of a completely independent National Government based on the democratic principle of Universal Suffrage.

#### THEORY OF EQUAL PARTNERSHIP—A MYTH

The theory of "equal partnership in the British Commonwealth" is but a gilded version of imperialism. Only the upper classes of our society can find any consolation in it, because the motive behind this theory is to secure the support of the native landowning and capitalist classes by means of economic and political concessions allowing them a junior partnership in the exploitation of the country. Such concessions will promote the interests though in a limited way of the upper classes leaving the vast majority of the people in political subjugation and economic servitude. The apostles of "peaceful and constitutional" means are nothing but accomplices of the British in keeping the Indian nation in perpetual enslavement. It is needless to point out that England did not conquer India in order to "civilise" us ; so to believe that the Indian people will attain the state of complete political autonomy under the guidance of benign British rule is simply to entertain an illusion. But those believing in co-operation with the British Government are too hard headed businessmen to be under any illusion. If they advocate the policy of "peaceful and constitutional" means, it is because such a policy is more conducive to the interests of their class than a sudden radical change in the political administration of the country.

#### OUR LANDLORD AND CAPITALIST CLASS

The landowners are interested in the security of their estates and preservation of their right to suck the blood of the peasantry

by rack-renting and innumerable other forms of exploitation. Any Government offering them this security will win their loyal support. The nationality of the rulers will make little difference. The moneyed upper classes seek expansion in the industrial and commercial field. Any Government providing facilities for this expansion will have their support and co-operation. If the British Government will insist on the old policy of obstructing the industrial development of the country our capitalist classes will militate in the nationalist ranks. But convenience of exploitation, as well as exigencies resulting from the disastrous effects of the World War today demand a change in the method of Imperialist economics. Ever increasing popular discontent forces the British ruler to seek an alliance with some powerful native element, which will find it profitable to help maintain a Government preserving law and order. It offers economic concessions and political privilege in consideration for such help. Thus the landowning and capitalist classes find it possible to have their interests protected and aspirations satisfied within the framework of Imperialist suzerainty.

Their property rights protected, and the avenues of their economic development open under the British rule, the landowning and capitalist classes have no reason to quarrel with the former. In fact, their economic interests demand peaceful conditions, which are enforced under Imperial coercion. They are afraid that a sudden change in the political status of the country will disturb the "peace and order" so indispensable for the security of property, and prosperity of commerce and industry. A clear programme of National Liberation cannot be carried through without risking a revolutionary action of the masses, who may not be so willing to go back to their socio-economic slavery after conquering the political power for the native upper classes. In order to avoid these unwelcome possibilities, the landowning and capitalist classes prefer a peaceful gradual progress. They find it wise to take as much as can be got with the least danger to themselves.

This policy of caution and compromise, however, leaves the Indian people out of consideration. It is calculated to secure and promote the interests of the thin upper strata of the people. Therefore, it goes without saying that the National Congress must declare that the realisation of the programme of the Liberal League, or any other programme fundamentally of a similar nature, does bring the Indian nation as a whole any nearer to free-

dom. Because under "equal partnership in the Commonwealth" or "Dominion Self-Government" or "Home Rule in British Empire", the Indian people will still continue to be under British domination which will function with the aid and connivance of the native capitalist class.

#### NO CHANGE OF HEART

Those preaching the doctrine of "change of heart" on the part of the British rulers fail to disassociate themselves clearly from such halfway measures. Such a doctrine admits the possibility of reconciling the interests of the Indian people with those of Imperialism, consequently it is a dangerous doctrine and the Congress must be freed from it. This ambiguity of its position and the vagueness of its objective have contributed to the vacillation and weakness that characterised the activities of the Congress during the last twelve months. A determined fight, which is required to conquer National Independence for the Indian people, is conditional upon a clearly defined programme; and only such a programme will draw the masses of the people into the national struggle as taken in consideration the vital factors affecting the lives of the people.

Therefore, the Indian National Congress declares the following to be its :—

#### PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

1. Complete National Independence, separated from all Imperial connection and free from all foreign supervision.
2. Election of the National Assembly by Union Suffrage. The sovereignty of the people will be vested in the National Assembly, which will be the supreme authority.
3. Establishment of the Federal Republic of India. The principles which will guide the economic and social life of the liberated nation are as follows :—

#### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

1. Abolition of landlordism. All large estates will be confiscated without any compensation. Ultimate proprietorship of the land will be vested in the National State. Only those actually engaged in agricultural industry will be allowed to hold land. No tax farming will be allowed.
- 2 Land rent will be reduced to a fixed minimum with the

object of improving the economic condition of the cultivator. State Agricultural Co-operative Banks will be established to provide credit to the peasant and to free him from the clutches of the money-lender and speculating trader.

3. State aid will be given to introduce modern methods in agriculture. Through the State Co-operative Banks agricultural machineries will be sold or lent to the cultivator in easy terms.

4. All indirect taxes will be abolished, and progressive income tax will be imposed exceeding 500 rupees a month.

5. Nationalisation of Public Utilities, Mines, Railways, Telegrams and inland waterways will be owned and operated by the State under the control of Workers Committees not for profit, but for the use and benefit of the nation.

6. Modern industries will be developed with the aid and under the supervision of the State.

7. Minimum wages in all the industries will be fixed by legislation.

8. Eight hour day. Eight hours a day for five and a half days a week will be fixed by law as the maximum duration of work for male adults. Special conditions will be laid down for woman and child labour.

9. Employers will be obliged by law to provide for a certain standard of comfort as regards housing, working conditions, medical aid, etc. for the workers.

10. Protective Legislation will be passed about Old Age, Sickness and Unemployment Insurance in all the industries.

11. Labour organisation will be given a legal status and the workers' right to strike to enforce their demands will be recognised.

12. Workers councils will be formed in all the big industries to defend the right of labour. These councils will have the protection of the State in exercising their function.

13. Profit sharing will be introduced in all big industries.

14. Free and compulsory education. Education for both boys and girls will be free and compulsory in the Primary Grades and free as far as the Secondary. Technical and vocational schools will be established with State aid.

15. The State will be separated from all religious creeds, and the freedom of belief and worship will be guaranteed.

16. Full social, economic and political rights will be enjoyed by the women.

17. No Standing Army will be maintained, but the entire



people will be armed to defend the National Freedom. A National Militia will be organised and every citizen will be obliged to undergo a certain period of military training.

#### HOW TO REACH OUR GOAL

The aims and aspirations of the great majority of the Indian people are embodied in this programme, the realisation of which will bring progress and prosperity resulting from National freedom within the reach of all the classes. Now the object before us is clear. Everybody knows what he is fighting for. Swaraj is no longer a vague abstraction open to any interpretation, it is now a "mental state." Swaraj National Independence which still continues to be the summary of our Programme represents a clear picture of the national life breathing in the healthy atmosphere of freedom.

The goal fixed, we must now find the ways and means for reaching it. It goes without saying that a bitter and protracted struggle separates us from the goal we are striving for. The "civilising" character of British imperialism will be tested by the brutal resistance it will put up against the Indian people in its attempt to realise a programme which proposes to raise India to the status of any free, civilised nation. The patriotism of the Liberals will be measured by the adherence they give to this programme of ours—a programme which does not injure them but requires of every sincere Indian nationalist the courage and determination to struggle against the foreign ruler, and which aims not at the economic development of and comfortable position for a few, but for freedom, progress and prosperity for all. We know however, what to expect from both quarters; British imperialism will never "change its heart" and our upper classes will never risk a comfortable present and promising future assured to them, for real freedom to the nation. Our immediate task, therefore, is to involve in the struggle all those elements whose welfare demands the realisation of our programme.

#### ANALYSIS OF OUR FORCES

Now, in a fight it is indispensable to make a correct estimate of the available and reliable forces and to mobilise them so as to have their fullest might brought to bear upon the situation. Great masses of our National Army are just on the point of awakening. Their understanding is still limited and their vision not far reaching. The abstract conception of national liberation

leaves them indifferent nor does the picture of a happy and prosperous life far ahead appeal strongly to their imagination. They are wrapped up in more immediate affairs those affecting their every day life. In order to lead them step by step in the greater struggle, we must take up their immediate problems. These, however, cannot be solved unless there is a radical politico-economic change; but by standing shoulder to shoulder with them in their struggle against immediate grievances, we will help them develop their revolutionary consciousness. We will convince them in actual struggle how their every day life is bound up with the destiny of the entire nation.

It is a known fact that intensified economic exploitation has at last exhausted the patience of the Indian masses and shaken their traditional resignation. During the last years they have repeatedly demonstrated their will and readiness to fight. This rebelliousness of the masses is the solid foundation on which the activities of the National Congress should be based.

To develop this spontaneous revolt against unbearable conditions therefore will be to strengthen the national struggle. With the purpose of developing all the forces oppressed and exploited under the present order and to lead them in the struggle for national liberation, the Indian National Congress adopts the following :

#### ACTION PROGRAMME

1. To lead the rebellious poor peasantry in their struggle against the excesses of landlordism and high rents. This task will be accomplished by organising militant Peasants' Union which will demand (a) Abolition of Feudal Rights and dues, repeal of the Permanent Settlement and Taluqdary System; (b) Confiscation of large estates; (c) Management of confiscated estates by Councils of the cultivators; (d) Reduction of land rent, Irrigation Tax, Road Cess, etc.; (e) Fixed tenures; (f) No Ejection; (g) Abolition of indirect Taxation; (h) Low prices; (i) Annulment of all the mortgages held by moneylenders; etc.

2. To back the demands of the peasantry of organising country-wide mass demonstrations with the slogan of "Non-payment of rent and taxes."

3. To organise mass resistance against high prices, increases of railway fare, postage, salt tax, and other indirect taxation.

4. To struggle for the recognition of Labour Unions and the workers' right to strike in order to enforce their demands.
5. To secure an eight hour day, minimum wage and better housing for the industrial workers.
6. To back up these demands by mass strikes to be developed into a general strike at every available opportunity.
7. To support all strikes politically and financially out of Congress Fund.
8. To agitate for the freedom of press, platform and assembly.
9. To organise tenants' strikes against high home rents in the cities.
10. To build up a country-wide organisation of National volunteers.
11. To organise strikes of the clerks and employees in the Government and commercial offices for higher salaries.
12. To enter the Councils with the object of wrecking them.
13. To organise mass demonstrations for the release of political prisoners.

#### THE FINAL STEP

The realisation of this programme of action, every clause of which corresponds to the immediate interests of one or another section of the people, will increase the fighting capacity of the nation as a whole. The National Army will be drilled, so to say, ready for action. Every class will find the Congress striving for its welfare. In face of a gigantic mass movement thus organized and involving larger and larger sections of the population, the authority of the Government will break down. Non-co-operation of the productive elements of society will paralyze the life of the country, thus dealing a death blow to the Government. Inauguration of the campaign of nationwide Civil Disobedience will precipitate the final stage of our struggle to be crowned inevitably by the conquest of Independent National Existence, in which the people of India will have the opportunity of progressing in social, economic, and intellectual realms, in connection with the principles contained in our Programme of National Reconstruction.

**1923**

**S. P. O'DONWELL REPORTS TO THE SECRETARY  
OF STATE ON 18.12.22**

*Secret*

**F. 103. PART 3**

I have thought of wiring a summary of Bolshevik activities, but as will be seen from his latest telegram, the Secretary of State will be content if we send one by post. D.I.B. has prepared in consultation with me, a resume which I think will suffice. The Secretary of State misled perhaps by European analogies, takes an unduly alarmist view. He does not realise the immense difficulties in the way of the successful prosecution of a wide-spread communist campaign. It is true that the non-cooperators have shown that the masses can be got at. They can be roused to action in areas in which they have a genuine grievance; and the general authority and prestige of Government can be weakened everywhere if anti-Government propaganda and manifestations are not effectively restrained. But the position in regard to communist propaganda differs in 3 important respects :—

1. For special reasons; chiefly the desire to carry with us at a critical stage moderate Indian opinion, the non-cooperators were allowed a degree of immunity which will no longer be accorded.

2. The masses themselves have been disillusioned and failed promises of a new heaven on earth, in which no taxes or rents will be paid, will not now make anything like the appeal they did 18 months ago.

3. A purely communist propaganda can work only through a very low class agent, though a few of the so-called leaders may assist; it will not command the support of large numbers of the respectable classes, and can therefore be more easily suppressed than an agitation on nationalist lines.

The Secretary of State is evidently very impressed by the fact that Roy has secured £ 10,000 but our experience is that 18 lakhs will not go very far in the country, and unless Roy produces very tangible and large results, which I regard as very improbable, the Russians are not likely to go on financing him

on a large scale; whilst therefore a close watch is necessary, I see no ground for supposing that the danger is acute or very formidable; and this is also Col. Kaye's view.

No. 11

London, 4th day of January, 1923.

*Confidential*

My dear Colonel,

In my note on the Indian Communist Party dated 2nd January 1923 you will see that Jatin Mitter is being sent to India in order to carry on the propaganda work of the Party. In my note of the same series, dated 27th December, 1922, it was stated that Jatin would probably leave for India early in January, taking a 3rd class return passage by the *Messageries Maritimes*. It has since been learnt that he has postponed his departure, owing to the expected arrival of Muzaffar Ahmad from India. I will wire you immediately.

Yours sincerely,

I. P. I.

Lt. Col. C. Kaye,

C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E.

W.P.F (82)

2nd January, 1923.

*Very secret*

#### INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

M. N. Roy arrived in Berlin, from Moscow, on December 9th, 1922.

He says that the Comintern greatly appreciate his work and, as a result, the Indian question has now assumed great importance in the eyes of the C.E.C. of the Comintern. The Comintern think, however, that more work should be done in India. As a result of the 4th International Conference in Moscow, there are no longer different parties to represent different countries as was the case last year. Last year, for example, the Indian question was dealt with specially by the English C.P., but owing to the disappearance of parties it is being dealt with by the central body this year. This central body considers Roy to be the most suitable man for the work in India. Roy's voice consequently carries a good deal of weight at present, and the central body has decided to undertake any course of action he may recommend. The central body nevertheless thinks that Roy

has not done very much practical work compared with his theoretical propaganda. By practical work they mean the transport of literature to India, the formation of a revolutionary group there, the arranging of illegal passage for comrades coming to Europe etc. They have, therefore, recommended Roy to devote himself immediately to this sort of work and urge that propaganda activities can only be effective when backed by an organisation controlling large numbers of workers.

The Comintern also asked Roy to invite Indian comrades to come to Europe in connection with such work. Passages of 25 workers have been sanctioned and the necessary funds granted.

The Central Committee desires that the National Congress of India should be communised, or in other words, that Communist members should get the Congress into their hands, become its leaders and, through the Congress voice their own views. The central body thinks that, pending the time when such communisation of the congress becomes feasible, the left wing of the congress should be composed of Communists; and these members, instead of bringing about a split in the Congress, should for the present support the Nationalists, or Right Wing, while at the same time having a definite programme of their own. They should also try to put this programme before the Right Wing. With this end in view, a programme has been drawn up in consultation with the experts of the different countries. This programme has also been sent to India.

The Comintern have also granted funds to pay for a printing press for Bengal, for publishing a Communist paper.

The Comintern invite their comrades in India to publish as much pamphlet and communist literature as possible, promising at the same time to defray the costs entailed.

The Comintern are of opinion that, as the Indian question is of such paramount importance, Roy should, on his return, submit a report or propose some method for the more efficient organisation of the work.

On his return to Berlin, Roy asked that a conference might be held. The suggestion was received with favour and the following members were recommended to discuss effective methods for work in India :

- |                        |                     |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Thalheimer (German) | 3. Hertha (Russian) |
| 2. Heekert (do)        | 4. Roy (Indian)     |

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 5. Mrs. Roy (American) | 7. Batschari (Indian)   |
| 6. Jotty (Irish)       | 8. Peek (Russian Youth) |

Two conferences have been held during the last two week-ends when the above-mentioned were present. The following resolution was passed:—

“That a member should start at once for India and should, on his arrival, approach the following Indians whose sympathies are communistic and who are already in touch with Roy, either by letter or by indirect means. It should be explained to them how anxiously the Comintern are awaiting to help the Indian proletariat. In order to make this help available, whether it take the form of pecuniary assistance or revolutionary advice as to ways and means of making revolutions successful, a body of responsible and representative Indians should come over to discuss matters with their comrades in Europe. The Comintern have in view a World Congress which they intend to hold in Berlin in March 1923, and they would like the Indians in question to be present. This resolution was passed unanimously and the Comintern have endorsed it. Jatin Mitter, who recently arrived in Germany from India has been asked to start for India. He has been advanced £150 for his travelling expenses and left Berlin for Leipzig to arrange about his departure, police formalities etc. He returned to Berlin on December 21st and will have to wait there for a few days. His duty will be to approach the following members, appended to in the resolution, and invite them to come to Europe, their passage paid by the Comintern:—

1. Baidya Nath Biswas, Bengal Trade Union.
2. Jnon Sanyal Kathu Risapara, Kristnaya, Nodia.
3. Sachin Sanyal, Sethia, Jamshedpur Labour Union.
4. Dange, 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay.
5. Singaravala Chettiar, 22 South Beach, Triplicane, Madras.
6. E. L. Joyer P. O. Box 475, Vepery, Madras.
7. Md. Siddique, Editor “Inqilab”, Chamberlain Road, Lahore.
8. N. M. Joshi, Secretary of Indian Society, Bombay.
9. Bhupati Mazumdar, Chinsura, Hooghly Congress Committee.

Jatin Mitter should also meet Md. Siddique to influence Chaman Lal to come over.

Mitter is to meet Musharaf-ul-Abadani (of Wise Brothers, Loharchal, near Crawford Street, Bombay) on his arrival and will be able to stay with him in Bombay. While there, he is to go by the name of "Akram".

He is also to enquire about Usmani from Khalik Avanessian 94, Mode Street, Bombay, and about Afzal from Syed Inamuddin Risir, student 3rd year, B.A. Class, Hindu University, Benares. These two boys Usmani and Afzal, have gone to India on the same mission from Moscow where they have been undergoing training.

Muzaffar Ahmad of Calcutta, having telegraphed announcing his departure for Europe, Jatin Mitter is awaiting his arrival, expecting he may have important information; he has consequently postponed his departure. In the meantime, Roddy, an Irishman, at present in Berlin and expecting to go to London shortly, has been advised to join Khitish Chatterjee. Khitish has been asked to push on vigorously with his work of organisation among the sailors and lascars.

Singaravala and Dange have been asked to join Congress.

I. P. I.

#### NOTES IN THE INTELLIGENCE BUREAU OF HOME DEPARTMENT

The I. P. I. letter referred to is put up in original. They were both written before the receipt of information given in Secretary of State's telegram, which apparently means that Jatin Mitter's departure for India is indefinitely postponed—probably abandoned. The letter suggesting 'counter-action' has not been received; but I should suppose that it suggests the use of Regulation IV against Roy's agents in India; a mere refusal of passports could not be characterised as counter-action. If Roy is, as the Secretary of State's telegram says, relying on correspondence to secure the attendance of 'Indian Communist Party's representatives at Berlin, it is unlikely that he will get them. For a number of letters from him, inviting representatives, has lately been intercepted and has not reached the addresses. It is, I think, pretty evident that Roy's Communications with India are not working smoothly and that some, at least, of the agents whom he believes to be in India. Dange seems to be losing heart as a conspirator—his paper *Socialist* has been more moderate and I have seen correspondence showing that the Communists in Lahore and Calcutta are complaining that he has failed them. Roy does not know him personally: only by reputation. Chiefly of Dange's own making—my own informa-



tion is that Dange is not the stuff of which revolutionaries are made. I do not think he will go to Berlin, even if an invitation reaches him and Singaravelu (of Madras) has already once definitely refused to go. I think the odds are pretty strongly against Roy getting an Indian contingent for the "Special World Congress" from India, sent ad hoc, and that his invitations will share the fate of those to the Moscow Conference, where Roy himself was the Sole Indian representative. But, if we do not find any apparent intention on the part of Indian Communists to go to Berlin, I certainly think, we ought to take action to prevent their going—their presence would increase Roy's influence with the Russians, as their absence would tend to discredit him. We definitely know a considerable number of Roy's agents arrived in India, and are on the tracks of the few, of whose existence in India we are aware, but whose identity is still untraced; and I venture to think that, if action under regulation is contemplated, it would be best to defer it until we can make a reasonably clear sweep of the lot; which stage we may reasonably hope to reach before the time comes for the departure of any contingent to the Special World Congress at Berlin apparently due to assemble about the end of March.

C. Kaye

7. 2. 23

#### APPENDIX TO NOTES

The Bolshevik Campaign against India has two aspects—the fomenting of existing forms of unrest and the introduction of Communist propaganda. The former has been in existence for a considerable time past, the latter has only taken definite shape.

2. The former part of the campaign has been chiefly under the direction of the Russian enemy in Kabul, who has had, ready to his hand the organisation of the "provisional government of India" in Kabul through whom he works, in this direction, has chiefly been carried on. The personnel of the "provisional government" being predominantly Muslim, has lent itself to the fomenting of Moslem agitation in particular; but other forms of agitation have not been neglected. We have evidence to make use of congress organisation, labour and the Sikh unrest, as well; and the Bolsheviks have claimed that the agrarian unrest which, it is to be noted, includes both the Akali movement and the Moplah rebellion—both of which are represented to be purely agrarian movements—has owned whatever success it obtained to the efforts of their propagandists.

(a) Congress—At the time of the Hijrat movement, it is certain that the Russian enemy at Kabul sent an important Muhajir (almost certainly Jan Muhammad Junejo, of Sind, since deceased) to get in touch with the Congress leaders and to submit a report; and that this was done. In May 1922, the Congress Committee in Secret Session, considered (and rejected) an offer from some of the members of the "provisional government" at Kabul to form a Congress Committee in Afghanistan and to raise a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

(b) Two stowaways, named Tosche and Fleischer, arrived in Calcutta in July 1921 and was deported to Shanghai in the following November. After their departure, correspondence came to light which had passed between Tosche, and the Secretary Miners' Federation, Jharia showing that Tosche delivered a message from Russia. A letter was sent from Traders' Union Congress at Jharia to Zinovieff in Russia, of which we received information but too late to intercept it. Recently, Chamanlal was promised a lakh of ruppes from Congress funds and declared that he would be able to raise another lakh of rupees "from his friends outside India." The Red International of Labour Unions is in touch with Bengal Trade Unions: many of the labour leaders in India are closely connected with W.W.L.I. in London, which links up with the British Communist Party and thence to Russia and at the All India Trade Union Congress meeting, recently held at Lahore, messages of sympathy were received from the British Communist Party and the Moscow Congress.

(c) The recent expulsion by the Amir of revolutionary Indians from Afghanistan is undoubtedly a set-back to Bolshevik activity there and among the frontier tribes; since Kabul was a very important Centre for the despatch of propagandists and agents into India and into tribal territory. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that the Bolsheviks have relaxed their efforts in either of these directions; but with Afghanistan closed to them, they will have to use other routes, much less convenient.

(d) So far this summary has concerned itself with Bolshevik attempts to foster existing unrest or fanaticism against the British Government in India. We have lately obtained a good deal of information about a definite campaign to introduce the Bolshevik brand of communism into India: a campaign which is directed by M. N. Roy, an Indian Communist, in Europe. There has been a struggle going on for a long time, between

the Indian revolutionaries in Europe, who favoured the policy of nationalism and those—headed by Roy—who favoured the policy of communism: and Roy has not definitely won. Roy has been, for sometime past, sparingly subsidised by the Bolsheviks, but he has now( at the recent Moscow Conference) been able to show important results and has consequently claimed, and been promised, a greatly increased subsidy. The following is a brief summary of his achievements :

(i) Nalini Gupta, an emissary working under instructions from Roy, arrived in India in December, 1921, and returned to Europe March 1922. Founded a Communist group in Bengal (which is said to receive from Roy, a monthly subsidy of Rs. 100 and among whose activities is the sending of young men to Roy in Europe for training as propagandists) and established connections elsewhere in India, particularly in Bombay and Colombo. There is believed to be a regular organisation at Colombo for receipt and distribution of communist literature. Enquiry is proceeding and nothing definite can be said about this at present.

(ii) Roy who was in Tashkent at the beginning of 1921, selected about 30 of the most promising Muhajirin and took them to Moscow for training as agitators. After an 8 month's course at Moscow University, they started back to work in India, towards the end of 1921. The names of these men are known, and in most cases, they have been identified: four of them are known to have returned to India, two by sea to Bombay (with Persian passports) and two by the frontier. Of the first two, one has returned to Europe, and the other is believed to be in India, but is untraced: of the other two one (untraced) is known to have crossed the frontier between India and Afghanistan at least twice, and is believed now to be at or beyond Kabul: the other was traced in India and is under observation. Four more have recently arrived in Chitral and six more are believed to be waiting an opportunity to follow them—the former four were sent to Peshawar, where they are now under examination. We have just received information that three more have reached Peshawar for examination, presumably also from the Chitral route, though this is not definitely stated.

(iii) A large number of Muhajirin, not definitely trained for propaganda work, undertook to work for the Bolsheviks on their return to India. Recent correspondence between Roy and Muhammad Ali (Roy's correspondent in Kabul) showed that

touch was being maintained with some of the returned Muhajirin, from Kabul.

(iv) Charles Ashleigh, an emissary sent by Roy, arrived at Bombay, September 18th and was deported 5 days later. Intercepted correspondence from Roy shows that, though under surveillance at Bombay, Ashleigh succeeded in meeting agents from Bengal and delivered messages: also that he was able to entrust his "mission" to S. A. Dange in Bombay and to hand over, to the latter, a list of Communist workers in India.

(v) Robin Cantor, one of a party of 4 Russian stowaways discovered at Colombo, managed to get as far as Madras, where he has arrested (in September of this year). It is practically certain that he delivered communist literature to a member of Nalini Gupta's Calcutta group sent to Colombo to meet this party.

(vi) S. A. Dange, mentioned above, Editor of the "*Socialist*", an English fortnightly, published at Bombay. He appears to be the directing spirit of communism in India, and the list handed over by Ashleigh—puts him in a position to co-ordinate the work throughout India. We know the names of the Communist leaders at Madras, in Calcutta and Lahore, from the same correspondence: also that there are centres at Allahabad and Peshawar, though we do not know the identity of the 'leaders' at these places.

(vii) The *Vanguard*—title recently changed to the *Advance Guard*—Communist newspaper edited by Roy. First arrived in India in June 1922. About 1,000 copies are believed to be sent each fortnight, though the number intercepted in the post is only about half of this total. There is no doubt that a considerable number got through, and that their contents are used by some of the leading Indian newspapers, who have adopted a communist tone, in leading articles. This is notably so in the case of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, many recent articles in which have been adopted from the *Vanguard*. Pro-Bolshevik articles commonly appear also in the "*Independent*" and "*Khilafat Bulletin*": less frequently in the "*Democrat*", *Servant* and *Vartaman* and occasionally in many other newspapers.

(viii) Three pamphlets written by Roy—"India in Transition", "*India's Problem and its Solution*" and "*What do we want?*" These have been proscribed, but a number of copies certainly get through.

(ix) This newspaper and pamphlet propaganda is supplemented by voluminous correspondence from Roy, who sends letters each week to labour bodies, labour agitators, political agitators, ex-detenus, etc. outlining his views and recommending a communist programme. In one of his recent interceptions, Roy has recommended the formation of a regular communist party in India, with a "non-offensive" name—"in order that many available revolutionary elements should not be frightened"—he suggests "The People's Party." This party should have a dual organisation, "legal" and "illegal." He declares that an attempt should be made to establish the nucleus of the 'legal' party at the Gaya Congress, where it is intended that a resolution, drafted by Roy, shall be introduced.

(e) Communist activity, not directly traceable to Roy, but which will, no doubt, now be brought under his direction, if it has not been so in the past, has not been very noticeable. The *International Press Correspondence*, a publication of the 3rd International, is sent in numbers to India—many copies are intercepted in the post, but many certainly get through. The "Red" Trades Union organisations also send literature and private letters to the office bearers of Labour Unions in India. Stray copies of the *Communist*, *Communist Review*, *Workers Dreadnought*, and various "Red" Labour publications, come to light occasionally in the post.

(f) The following definitely Communist publications have been started within recent months in India: The *Atma Sakti*, *Dhumketu*, *Desher Bani* (vernacular papers mostly run by revolutionaries in Bengal), the *Socialist* (English fortnightly, edited by S. A. Dange, Bombay), the *Nava Yuga*, English fortnightly edited by Krishna Rao (who is in correspondence with Sylvia Pankhurst), Madras, and the *Inqilab* (Vernacular daily, Lahore). The "Dhumketu" was recently prosecuted for seditious writing, the editor tendering an apology. His *locum tenens*, during his arrest, was well-known ex-revolutionary, and the tone of the paper continued unimproved. Its sale is said to be rapidly increasing. A violent communist pamphlet appeared in Madras, in June of this year, written by one Nalini Kanta Iyer who, when arrested, attempted to shoot a policeman. Dr. Manilal who was deputed from Fiji in 1920 for his share in the labour trouble, made Bolshevik speeches in New Zealand and was deported from there, and was, later, refused permission to stay in Ceylon.

is now in India, is a regular contributor to Dange's "Socialist" and appears to be professed Communist.

(g) Communist ideas have certainly obtained a measure of recognition from prominent Indian non-cooperating politicians. C. R. Das, in particular has emphasised the necessity of organising the masses with a view to obtaining self-government not for the classes, but for the masses. It is believed that he has offered to find money, upto 4 lakhs of rupees, from his private fortune, for this purpose: that he has declared that one of the reasons for his desire to enter the Councils is that, under the guise of an electioneering campaign to "educate the voter", it will certainly be possible for his agents to spread his views among the peasantry. A recent letter, from Roy to Dange, urges that the "Communist members" should take a very active part in the formation of a mass party for "revolutionary Nationalist Struggle"—i.e., he is prepared to support a "bourgeois" revolution as a step to a subsequent "proletariat" rebellion against the 'bourgeois'.

(h) The set back of Bolshevik activity in Afghanistan will, as noted in paragraph "c" of this summary, entail the selection of other routes to India. We have received detailed and circumstantial reports of the existence of an organisation in the Russian Pamirs which intends to use the routes through Gilgit and Chitral. Some of these men have already begun to arrive by this route (paragraph d(ii) of this summary): but it entails the use of one of the most difficult routes in the world, which is, at best, only open during part of the year, and it seems obvious that another much better route would be through Persia to the sea and thence Dhow to India. We have been giving special attention to this route, but have as yet no evidence of its regular use, though a recent report from Baluchistan, mentions a collection of "Undesirable elements" at Duzdap: "the Bolshevik Consul General" at Meshed, would appear to be directing his energies in that direction and thence on to India. The result is that there is now in Duzdap, a combination of Persian, German, Russian, and Turkish suspects endeavouring to get into India. "We have also had, quite recently, a report of the presence at Bushire (where they are under observation) of three (Moslem) Bolshevik agents from Teheran. Roy's report, at the recent Moscow Conference will probably result in the coordination of efforts against India in his hands: and the results that he has already achieved, with small financial support, make it probable that he will now be a

force to be seriously reckoned with, and that this obvious route to India, if in truth—as appears to be the fact—it has long been neglected in the past, will no longer be neglected in the future.

#### ACTIVITIES OF JOTINDRA MITTRA, THE BOLSHEVIK EMISSARY

The following information has been culled from the Weekly Reports of the Director, Intelligence Bureau, for the past six months.

Jotindra Nath Mittra was sent to Europe after the failure of the Bengal Communists to persuade the labour Unions in India to despatch representatives to Moscow. In January last he was reported to have arrived at Leipzig at the beginning of November. Shortly afterwards information was received that Roy was sending him back to India in order to persuade the Indian delegates to proceed to Berlin; and that it was not unlikely that he was carrying detailed instructions and other aid. Indian ports and Colombo were instructed to keep a sharp look out for his arrival. In consequence, however, of a cable subsequently a cable despatched by Muzaffar Ahmad to Roy announcing his departure immediately for Berlin, the projected visit of Jotin Mittra to the same place was postponed by Roy till he had an opportunity of discussing the situation in India with Muzaffar Ahmad. About the same time Jotin was instructed by Roy that he should get into touch with the Calcutta Communist and the "Dhumketu" newspaper group, S. A. Dange of Bombay, Singaravelu and E. L. Aiyar of Madras and others connected with the 'Inqilab' paper of Lahore; that in the U. P. he should approach Afzal and Usmani, two of Roy's Moscow trained students. To all these individuals he was directed to explain how anxious the 3rd International are to help the Indian proletariat both the financial assistance and advice as to the methods of making a successful revolution. For this purpose Roy stated that it is essential that a number of representative delegates from India should assemble in Berlin to discuss matters with the European comrades at a World Congress which the Third International intend to hold during March 1923.

#### APPENDIX II TO NOTES

A certain member of Indians who have been in touch with Bolshevik organisations have returned to India, some by sea some by land. Some of these are definitely known to have come to

India with the definite object of doing Bolshevik propaganda; some are merely suspected of this: others are in a position to do so, though we have reason to think that some, at least, of these only professed readiness to undertake Bolshevik propaganda in order to be able to get back to India, and never really had any intention of doing work.

Of these who returned by sea, Nalini Gupta, definitely a Bolshevik agent, returned *via* Colombo. He has a passport, which he showed at Dhanuskodi and this fact led to his return being known, and his movements being watched. If he had not used his passport at Dhanuskodi, the probability is that we should have known nothing about his visit, as he arrived and left as a lascar.

A. A. Mirza, a man who was definitely in touch with persons holding Bolshevik ideas, and certainly held similar ideas himself, though there is no evidence to show that he gave expression to them in India. There is, however, reason to suppose that he carried (and delivered) messages, either written or verbal or both. We were warned of his pending arrival, and a look-out was kept for him at Bombay, but he escaped notice owing to his arrival as a deck passenger, and was only traced a week before his departure (for South Africa). He had a passport.

Ali, a definite Bolshevik agent. He travelled overland to Persia, obtained a Persian passport from Rothstein at Tehran and arrived openly at Bombay from Basrah. His real identity was not suspected until it became known accidentally, after which we obtained full knowledge of his movements. We have reason to believe that another man, known as Usmani, came by the same route and under similar conditions. We know that he is in India, but we have been unable to trace him or identify him.

A man named Shafiq, also a definite Bolshevik agent, about whom we have a certain amount of information, though we have been quite unable to trace or identify him, has been working in India and has certainly travelled between India and Afghanistan more than once on propaganda work. The last news we had of him was that he was in Afghanistan, whence he has now probably gone to Tashkent. We have some reasons to believe that he originally entered India by sea, at Bombay, probably without a passport.

There are a number of returned Muhajirin, who have entered India *via* the frontier, by land, in all, or practically all, cases



without passports, as is only natural. Most of these have come in openly, though some have come secretly and, in some cases, have been detected later from statements made by those who entered openly. Our general policy, in this particular, has been to allow such men to pass, after taking their statements, and to keep them under surveillance in India; as the alternative would be, their coming in secretly; which by land it is practically impossible to prevent.

In the case of those coming by sea, it is always for them to get in, without passports, as lascars. The issue of passports to them is of advantageous, rather than the reverse *vide* case of Nalini Gupta, above. If they are determined to come, passport is no passport, nothing that we can do will prevent them coming: and I do not think that any action in the direction of making it difficult for them to obtain passports, would assist us—rather, or I say, the reverse. A man to whom a passport is issued is much more likely to be traced—the refusal of passports would merely mean an increase in the number of Indians who arrive, without passports, from Europe, with a consequent increase in our ignorance about their movements and proceedings.

We have always upheld the general view that each country should deal with its own undesirables. Refusal of passport, to “suspect” Indians returning to India, would in theory, be against this principle: though in fact, it would not prevent their return, while it would make it more difficult to deal with a proportion of these who do return.

C. Kaye  
7.12.22.

F. 103 PART 3.  
SERIAL No. 1 TO 36.

2

TELEGRAM P. No. 4752, DATED THE 7TH DECEMBER, 1922.

From: The Secretary of State for India, London.

To: The Viceroy (Home Department).

I.P.I. Sends the follows for Kaye.

SECRET No. 30.

begins:—

Roy's speech before the Colonial Commission Third International at Moscow on 11th November emphasises following point. Indian C.P. is *collaborating* temporarily with bourgeois

Hindus. Conflict between socialist and nationalist elements in India should be avoided as programmes are similar. The Socialist Party to be helped with views to ultimate absorption by C.P. Special reference made to Dange group. Central Committee Communist Party in Bombay directs districts committees in Calcutta, Madras, Allahabad and Peshawar. Faulty Communications are a serious obstacle to progress. The difficulties are partially overcome by postal communications through Kabul and Kandahar with assistance of Raskolnikoff Tashkend Radio. Activity is seriously hampered by shortage of funds. Party requires £120,000 including £15,000 for support to Panjkora Socialist from Third International for 1923 when activities will be greatly increased devoting special attention to agrarian question. Demand for funds was supported by Malaka. On his return journey to Java he will carry special instructions for Indian revolutionists and will forward money to India in Bills of Exchange drawn on Dutch and American firms. Roy's tactics have been approved and funds demanded have been granted by a large majority.

## 4

TELEGRAM P. No. 4769, DATED THE 10TH DECEMBER, 1922.

From : The Secretary of State for India.

To : The Viceroy (Home Department).

I.P.I. sends the following for Kaye, SECRET No. 31.

A letter seem from Barkatul, Lahore, to Com. Iqbal in Afghanistan states that the Executive Board India Independent Party has appointed Iqbal Gulam Mohamed Aziz and Maulavi Fazl-e-Ilahi (sic) plenipotentiary representatives to form a Central organisation at Chamerkand in Mohmad country..... Iqbal was with Roy and Abani Mukherji in Tashkend.

## 6

TELEGRAM P. No. 1015, DATED THE 21ST DECEMBER 1922

From : The Viceroy (Home Department)

To : The Secretary of State for India, London.

BOLSHEVIK ACTIVITIES : Reference your telegrams of the 2nd and 12th December. We are fully alive of the necessity for exercising the closest watch over Bolshevik activities directed

against this country and are sending you summary by post giving you a percis of our recent information in regard thereto. But so far the results achieved by the movement may be summed up as follows :—Undoubtedly a section of extremists, C. R. Das included, and some newspapers of which the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is the most prominent, conscious of the breakdown of the original non-cooperation programme, and anxious to find an effective substitute, have been attracted by Roy's doctrine of rousing the masses. The methods and ideas of the Bolshevists also naturally appeal to men like the Bengal ex-detenus. But there is nothing to indicate the existence of a Communist organisation commanding the members, capacity and resources adequate for the initiations of an extensive campaign amongst the cultivators and labours in the industrial areas. Roy's most resourceful agent is probably Nalini Gupta, but we have no reason to believe that the Indian emissaries in general, and those with whom they are in touch, are men of calibre necessary to organise a movement on a large scale. From your telegram of the 13th we understand that Roy had obtained £ 120,000 from the Third International and some money may be made available from the non-cooperation sources, and as a result of larger resources available, we must expect to see increased activity at first, but very large sums would be required for sustained propaganda on a large scale in a country in which political organisations seem to find it impossible to exercise any proper control over their expenditure, witness to Tilak Swaraj and Khilafat funds most of which has been frittered away or embezzled.

We are of opinion that our existing organisation for dealing with all these activities is not inadequate, although it may require supplementing.

12

N. J and P (S)-6594, dated the 15th January, 1923 (Secret)

From : J. Ferard, Esq. Secretary, Judicial and public Department, India Office, London.

To : The Secretary, Government of India, Home Department.

#### ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT AGAINST INDIA

With reference to the Viceroy's telegram dated 22nd December, 1922 I forward for information, copy of the papers

(Letter dated 9th January, 1923 to the Foreign Office) on the subject of the above.

PUBLIC : J & P (S) 6594

India Office

*Secret*

9th January, 1923.

Sir,

I am directed by Viscount Peel to ask you to bring to the notice of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston the remarkable recent outburst of active propaganda against British rule in India on the part of the Soviet Government, the Russian Communist Party and the Third International. Viscount Peel understands that the Marquess Curzon is satisfied that purposes of this nature no distinction can be drawn between the operations of these three bodies.

The statement which follows is confined entirely to information as to occurrences of the last 9 or 10 weeks. Since it appears superfluous to refer to anything more distant. Within that period the most public activity has been the manifesto of the 4th congress of the C. I., addressed to the AITUC. A summary of this was received from Moscow but the full manifesto was published in the communist newspaper of London on the 30th December. A copy of this is enclosed. It will be seen that the Manifesto incites the people of India to overthrow the British rule by a violent revolution. It is understood that in the meeting of the international which approved this manifesto there was not present any prominent member of the Soviet Government but the point is perhaps not material in view of other information available as to the action of the two bodies.

In the London "Times" of the 1st January was published a secret circular of the P. B. of the Russian C. P., the number and date being given. This circular (of which a copy is enclosed) was addressed to the delegation of that Party in Germany, and gives a description of the present arrangements for promoting revolution in India as made by the C. I. The circular purports to be signed by Stalin. It mentions as constituting a mission for the purpose of revising propagandist work in Central Asia three persons well-known as members of agents of the Soviet Government, i.e. Zinovieff, Eliava and Vosnessensky. The circular itself in the work of attacking England through India the C. P. and the Soviet Government, and describes how the Soviet Govern-

ment has assisted the work by establishing the Eastern Chamber of Commerce in Moscow.

This perhaps forms an adequate ground for addressing a remonstrance to the Soviet Government, but there are other items of information which lend them very strong support. On the 30th October there was a meeting of the Eastern Section of the Third International under the presidency of Safofov. It was attended by M. N. Roy and Rothstein, the former representative in Persia of the Soviet Government. The President spoke of British and Japanese imperialism as mortal enemies of the oppressed nation of the East. Britain had exploited India and for fear of the loss of her colonial prestige has become the enemy of all Moslem nations. He considered it imperative that the leaders of the movements for the freedom of Eastern nationalities should unite in close contact to check the intrigues of British capitalism.

On the 4th November there was a meeting of the colonial commission of the Third International at Moscow. At this meeting an account was given of the work done and to be done in India and a resolution was passed for a grant of £ 120,000 for the Indian C. P. This resolution was considered and approved in a meeting of the Financial Commission of Third International held on the 25th November. This meeting had for its President Bukharin and was attended by Radek, both of whom are, or were, members or agents of the Soviet Government. In the course of the meeting it was stated that one of the members of the Assignment Trio, whose consent to the sums appropriated was apparently required, was Sokolnikov who is Commissar for Finance in the Soviet Government.

There is in the India Office unquestionable evidence, in the shape of a letter which M. N. Roy sent to India, that the Third International invited representatives of Indian Communists to attend the recent meeting of International, with the object of assisting India to work out its own destinies under an independent national Government and to India with renewed strength to carry on the work backed by the entire force of the International revolutionary working class.

The last piece of information received is that Suritz, who was for sometime Soviet representative of Kabul, has now been sent to Berlin, where he is at work from the premises of the Russian embassy in assisting the leaders of Indian revolutionaries.

whose centre is in that city, including Barkatullah who was in Kabul at the same time as himself.

It will be observed that the greater part of the information set out in this letter is obtained from confidential reports furnished to the Foreign Office. Viscount Peel is not certain to what extent it may be held advisable to refer to any item of this information in making a communication to the Soviet Government or any of its representatives. The point will no doubt be fully considered as part of the question whether it is desirable to make any remonstrance at all.

The Under Secretary of State  
FOREIGN OFFICE,  
White Hall, S. W. 1.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
(Sd.) F. W. DUKE.

13

NO. J AND P (S)-6975-23, DATED THE 18TH JANUARY, 1923

(SECRET)

From : J. E. Ferard, Esq. Secretary, Judicial and Public  
Department, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.-1.

To : The Secretary to the G. O. I. Home Department.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST ENTRY OF COMMUNIST LITERATURE INTO  
INDIA AND ITS PUBLICATION IN INDIA.

In the Secretary of State's telegram dated 2nd and 12th December he addressed the G. O. I. regarding the necessity of careful and complete precautions against the now widely extending Bolshevik attack on India, a matter which is referred to in my letter to the Foreign office dated the 9th January, of which a copy is being sent to you this mail.

The present letter relates specifically to the question of the spread of communist literature in India. This is a matter which was referred to in Mr. Gwynne's letter No. F-911, dated the 31st August last, and in the last paragraph of my letter No. 6285 of the 30th September.

There have been numerous recent pieces of information showing that this literature is finding its way in increasing volume in India. I am to refer particularly to the letter dated the 10th October written by M. N. Roy from Berlin to A. R. Khan which was enclosed with the letter No. 28, dated the 9th November

from the Director of the Intelligence Bureau; and again to the report headed "Indian Communist Party" and dated the 2nd January 1923, which was sent from this country to that officer. These papers show that the arrangements for sending Communist literature produced in Europe to India are being extended, that funds have been granted by the C. I. to pay for a press to be opened in Bengal for the purpose of publishing a communist paper and that the International invite their comrades in India to publish as much as possible, promising to defray the expenses. There is every reason to believe that this information is genuine and that the efforts are real. The channels of despatch of the literature appear to be principally seamen, though the post is largely used. It seems probable from the reports that have been received, that the greatest danger may be apprehended from foreign vessels arriving at Indian ports.

14

No. J AND P (S)-6975-23, DATED THE 18TH JANUARY, 1923

(SECRET)

From : J. E. Ferard, Esq. Secretary, Judicial and Public Department, India Office, London.

To : The Secretary to the Government of India. Home Department.

*Question of the possibility of interning under Reg. III of 1818 all of Bolshevik trained Indians arriving in India.*

I am directed by the Secretary of State to write to you regarding another aspect of the question of precautions against the activities of Bolshevik agents in India, which was referred to in the correspondence ending with the Viceroy's telegram of the 22nd December. The particular point is that dealt with in Secretary of State's telegram of the 11th January, regarding Jatindra Nath Mittra.

(2) Instances have already come to light of the despatch to India of persons of the training referred to. Not to play any stress on the cases of Nalini Gupta, and Jatindra Nath Mittra. I am to refer, as examples, to the case of Usmani, Afzal, Salim and Gohar. A sketch of the information, available regarding the first of those men is attached. There are, no doubt, similar histories available regarding the other 3 men. It is moreover, to be

inferred from Usmani's letter of the 26th September, included in the report headed "Indian Communist Party" of the 22nd December, that there are other agents of this character who have succeeded in reaching India.

MOHMET SHAUKAT USMANI

This man was reported by I. P. I. in a note headed "Indian Activities in Moscow and Kabul" dated the 12th October, 1921, as having been present at a Communist meeting in Moscow. He was again reported on the 1st November, 1921 in a note headed "Indian Communist Party" as being a member of the Executive Committee of the Indian C. P. in Moscow, and as studying at the Oriental University at Moscow with the revolutionary agents.

Dib, in his letter No. 9349, dated the 22nd June 1922, stated that M. N. Roy was to communicate with Usmani *via* Chotani and suggested that Usmani had left Moscow in September 1921 (it must really have been later), to make his way to India, *via* Persia and said that these were "stray reasons for believing him to be now in India."

I. P. I. again reported Usmani on the 21st July, 1922 in a note headed "Indian Communist Party" and mentioned that Roy was approaching him through an accomodation address at 94 Modi Street, Bombay. There is thus no doubt that Usmani was already in India in June 1922. But there has been no intimation from India as to the action has been taken against Usmani or whether he has in fact ever been located. In I. P. I.'s report "Indian Communist Party," dated the 22nd December, are contained two letters from Usmani, one dated the 24th September 1922 and evidently sent from Bombay, and another dated 12th October from Benares. He gives a number of addresses and mentions Salim (Akbar Shah *alias* Salim, *alias* Md. Sali *alias* Akabar Khan of Badrashi, Peshawar who was with the under mentioned) and Gohar (Gohar Rahman (Havildar) of Haripur. Hazara, who left Teheran for Shiraz on 12th July, 1922). His messages to European Communists make his connection with them clear. The I. P. I.'s latest note about him is dated 3rd January, 1923 headed "Indian Communist Party"; this gives an intercepted letter from Mrs. Roy to Usmani dated 1st December 1922, to the same accomodation address 94 Modi Street, Bombay.



16

TELEGRAM "P" No. 669, DATED THE 15TH FEBRUARY, 1923

From : The Secretary of State for India, London.

To : The Vicoroy (Home Department)

SEDITION : Bolshevik menace and emissaries. Reference my telegrams of 2nd December and 8th December and your telegram of December 21st also my telegram dated 11th January re : Jatindra Mitra, and my Pub. Secretary's 3 letters of January 18th on 3 different aspects of the danger. I see from a letter of December 26th 1922, No. 14011 - T. S. from Chief Commissioner, Frontier Province, to Foreign Department that Akbar Shah is arrested at Peshawar. This man is known to be Salim, one of the 4 Moscow trained men to have reached India. If not already known, the whereabouts of the other 3, namely Afzal, Gauhar *alias* Aziz and Usmani could in all probability be easily ascertained through the covering address at Bombay, Benares and Madras. I shall be glad to have your views on the question of interment of these men. So far as can be judged in this country, there is ample material available against all of them and probably against others as well.

17

TELEGRAM 'P' No. 160 DATED THE 28TH FEBRUARY, 1923.

From : The Viceroy (Home Department)

To : The Secretary of State for India, London.

SEDITION : Bolshevik menace and emissaries.

Reference your telegram of the 15th instant No. 669.

\* \* \* \*

(5) Regarding persons mentioned by you, J. N. Mittra has not yet arrived. We are, however, watching the case carefully and if he comes into British territory shall take action. Afzal cannot be traced. We know from intercepted letters that communications for him are being held up at his covering address because his present whereabouts are not known to the Communist Group. Salim is Akbar Shah, a Moscow student, who returned last August and is kept under surveillance. He will be indicted as accused in N. W. F. P. case. Gahar has not arrived in India yet. The latest report show him to be in Khyber

Agency. The Peshawar I.B. are on watch for him, and as soon as he attempts to enter India will arrest him. A warrant is out for the arrest of Usmani whose exact whereabouts are not known, but the U.P., C.I.D. are not on his trail. Both Usmani and Gohar if arrested will be included as accused in this case.

(6) With regard to exercise of control over emissaries proceeding to Germany and elsewhere, please see our Home Secretary's letter dated 25th January, 1923, No. 9. We have just received information that one Muzaffar Ahmad is attempting to leave in guise of lascar. This is the only sign of response to the invitation of Roy. Instruction have been issued to the local government to make every effort to prevent his leaving the country.

27

No. 487-P.C.N. DATED THE 29TH MAY, 1923.

From : The Hon'ble Sir John Maffey, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., C.I.E., Chief Commissioner, N.W.F.P.

To : The Secretary to the Government of India.

**ARREST OF SHAUKAT USMANI, ALLEGED BOLSHEVIK AGENT**

I have the honour the address you on the subject of action taken in respect of Shaukat Usmani, who was arrested in Cawnpore on 10th May, 1923 on a warrant issued from Peshawar under under section 121-A, I.P.C.

**2. The facts are as follows :—**

In February, when a case under Section 121-A I.P.C. was on the point of being put into court in Peshawar against 8 Indians who had been trained in the Moscow University as propaganda agents, the D.I.B. Home Department, G.O.I., asked that a warrant might be obtained in connection with the same case for the arrest of Saukat Usmani, an agent who was known to have been in India, having reached Bombay from Russia by sea in January, 1922. This warrant was issued and remained unexecuted till May 10th. Meanwhile the trial in Peshawar had begun and, at the request of the Director, I.B. evidence had not been recorded against Shaukat Usmani under Section 512 Cr. P.C. Usmani reached Peshawar under arrest on May 14th while a hearing of the case against the Moscow agents was actually proceeding in the Sessions Court. It is impossible to include him.

in that trial at that stage and the case ended in a conviction a few days later.

3. There is now no conspiracy case pending in this province, though owing to an inaccurate message issued to the Press from Cawnpore, the C.I.D. of the U.P. and Bengal appear to have acted on this assumption that there is. The U.P.'s C.I.D. have informed the I.B., Peshawar, that the Government of the U.P.'s are not prepared to institute a case against Usmani in those Provinces, while the Bengal C.I.D. have arrested an associate of Usmani named Muzaffar Ahmad, and have suggested that he should be included in the case with the former in Peshawar.

4. While the trial of Usmani in Peshawar might possibly be argued to be legal, if evidence of his activities outside India were strong (which is not), neither he nor Muzaffar Ahmad, who has never apparently left India can be tried in Peshawar for their actions in furtherance of the revolutionary conspiracy committed in India.

5. Apart from the legal aspect of the case, I consider that to start a fresh case against Usmani in this province would be in the highest degree inexpedient. Had he been arrested in time, he could have been included in the case recently decided here, on the ground that he was an associate in Moscow of the accused in that case; his activities in India could have been proved as indicating the intention for which the other accused had been sent and the way in which they would have worked had they not been intercepted. Now, however, he can only be charged, individually on the evidence of what he has been doing in other provinces, and the suggestion would have been inevitable, especially in view of the publicity, which has been given in the press to his arrest, that he had been brought up to a Province which a section of the press persists in calling the "land without laws" in order to secure a conviction which could not be upheld in the High Court of a Regulation Province. From the evidence of the letters and other documents recovered before and at the time of his arrest, it appears also that there are a number of persons in various Provinces, in addition to the one already arrested in Calcutta, who might be charged together with Usmani. Such a case could not even legally be prosecuted here, and the arguments of expediency against such a prosecution being brought here are overwhelming.

F. 103/IV

## SUMMARY OF INFORMATION RE : INDIAN COMMUNISTS

J &amp; P (S) 7847

INDIA OFFICE  
WHITE HALL, S.W.1.  
17th May, 1923

*Secret**Indian Communists*

Dear Sir,

I forward for information, 10 copies of the paper noted on the margin,\* on the subject of the above. So many copies are sent in case it should be thought useful to find copies to the intelligence officers in the principal provinces though of course the summary is not complete as regards the Indian side.

Secretary to the  
Government of India,  
Home Department.

Yours faithfully  
Sd. J. W. Hose  
for Secretary  
Judicial & Public Department.

\* Summary for period 21.11.22 to 10.5.23

## SUMMARY

Very Secret : (Note : A full statement of the evidence on which this summary is based can be supplied if desired).

## INDIAN COMMUNISTS

(21st November 1922—10th May 1923.)

The following is a summary of information obtained in Europe collated with information received from India. In Europe comparatively little information has been obtained since February and there are gaps in the Indian information which leaves us in ignorance of the exact strength and composition of the various communist groups or nuclei now in existence.

## I. THE POSITION IN EUROPE

BERLIN : The importance of Berlin as a centre of Indian intrigue has increased considerably in the period under review. This summary will show a remarkable extension of M. N. Roy's activities, a new Indian Independence Party under Barkatullah has come into existence with Bolshevik assistance; and a number of prominent seditionists, including M. P. Tirumal Acharya (who considers Roy a spy), Dr. Mansur and Muhammad Ali

and Obeidullah, who worked for the Bolsheviks in Afghanistan, have come to Berlin from Moscow.

Dissensions continue between the various groups and Abani Mukharji, formerly a follower of Roy, has been sent by Roy's enemies to India where he has been intriguing against Roy for some months.

**CONNECTIONS WITH SOVIET GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL :** In September 1922 M. Raskolnikov applied to Moscow for supplies of Roy's proscribed literature for India.

In November at Moscow Roy acknowledged M. Raskolnikov's assistance with regard to communications in the form of veiled references in Usmani's letters.

Evidence has been obtained which shows that Usmani, now under arrest in India, was assisted by Tampakoff, and was probably in contact with Hakimoff, Russian consular officials, when travelling through Persia last year on his way from Moscow.

Roy has opened so-called branches of the Indian Congress and the Indian Labour Party at Berlin at the suggestion of M. Tival, General Secretary of the Red Trade Unions, who was supervising Roy's work in Berlin on behalf of of the Comintern and who probably returned to Moscow in February. He is an American who returned to Russia in 1920 with Martens. His father was a Pole. M. Sokolnikov, Soviet Commissar of Finance, was connected with the grant of a subsidy of £120,000 for Roy's work in 1923. The 'Advance Guard' openly states Roy's connection with the Third International, before the Colonial Commission of which Roy stated at Moscow on the 11th November his intention of nursing the Indian Socialist Labour Party with a view of absorbing it later : his chief aim being to create a serious labour movement in India.

**FUNDS :** Reports have been received of suspicious enquiries regarding the shipment of bullion or specie from the Baltic to Bombay, and of the intention of Malaka, a Dutch agitator, to forward money to India by means of Dutch and American bills of exchange; also of the purchase of American dollars to the value of 1,000,000 gold marks for use in connection with Indian agitation.

So far, however, we have only received information regarding the remittance by Roy of a few hundred pounds to his agents in India. He has altogether sent them very little and it is, in

this respect, very surprising that he should be able to show such good results. The Indian Communist group at Lahore came into being independently with the help of a generous supply of money from Kabul.

#### ROY'S AIMS AND THE PROJECTED CONFERENCE IN BERLIN

Roy failed to bring Indian representatives to the Moscow Conference in October-November 1922. Though his work was suitably appreciated a call was made for more practical work as distinct from propaganda.

He has since been trying by means of letters to his agents and connections in India to secure the attendance for a special conference in Berlin of representative Indian delegates. The chief object of the Conference is to discuss with the assistance of European Communists the organisation and programme of a working class revolutionary party in India. Twenty-five passages were sanctioned by the Comintern but no delegates have come, owing, it would appear, the difficulty of securing Indians of the right stamp and to the fact that passage-money has not been sent to India. Information has now been received that the Conference will not be held.

INDIAN LABOUR BUREAU (BERLIN): In January after consultation in Berlin with leading British Communists, it was decided to open an Information Bureau to contact Indian and European Labour Organisations. A start was made and in February the Bureau sent an objectionable Manifesto to Indian newspapers. This was published by 'The Nation' (Lahore) under the heading "Down with Imperialism". In February Roy was reported to have received £500 for the work of the Bureau.

CONNECTION WITH GERMAN COMMUNISTS: In October Roy sent instructions to India that Indian delegates to the Moscow Conference might communicate with him on arrival in Europe through the German Communist Party.

Roy and Mrs. Roy attended the Leipzig Congress of the German Communist Party from January 25th to February 2nd.

The German Communists Heckert and Thalheimer took part in the meeting in January at which it was decided to start the Indian Labour Bureau.

## II. DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS IN INDIA

CONNECTIONS IN INDIA: The 'International Press Corres-

pondence' of the 16th November reported a speech by Zinoviev claiming that organised political (communist) groups has been formed in India and other countries. On the 11th November, speaking before the Colonial Commission of the Communist International M. N. Roy had stated that the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party was established at Bombay, with branches at Peshawar, Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad.

Roy was speaking with an optimism, then somewhat lightly founded, but since amply justified by the growth and activities of the communist groups which now exist in almost every province of India.

**BOMBAY:** In Bombay, one S. A. Dange appears to be the head of a Socialist group with communist or quasi-communist views. In 1922 he entered into correspondence with Roy, probably in consequence of the latter's 'Vanguard' propaganda. In August he proceeded to publish the 'socialist', a fortnightly, now a monthly organ of scarcely veiled communism. In September M. N. Roy wrote to congratulate him on the first two numbers.

On the 17th September Roy desired his Calcutta agent, Mozaffar Ahmad to visit Dange and others at Bombay which he said would be a better centre for organisation. Charles Ashleigh, a Bolshevik emissary from Europe, saw Dange at Bombay between the 18th and 23rd September and made over, a list of workers of sympathisers in India and also invitations to the Moscow Congress. In November Roy proposed at Moscow that this group should be given £15,000 in 1923.

About this time Roy was urging Dange and Singaravelu Chettiar of Madras to secure delegates for a special conference in Europe and on the 19th December he instructed them to get into touch with one another and with Muhammad Siddiqi of Lahore, of whose activities he gave particulars, and to select delegates. The only likely delegate of whom we have so far received information is R. B. Lotawala, a Bombay merchant, who has been financing Dange and who sailed for Europe about the end of March.

Singaravelu Chettiar and Dange attended the Gaya Congress at which the former showed himself to be an extremely active Communist propagandist. He was appointed to the Committee formed to carry out the Congress Labour organisation scheme. Dange has since been seeking a place on this committee.

In the 'Socialist' of 23.12.22 Dange expressed alarm at Roy's 'Program' and disclaimed any intention of working for a violent revolution.

In January Dange and Singaravelu exchanged congratulations on their wisdom in declining Roy's invitation to Europe. This may, however, signify but little especially as the 'Socialist' had since published articles of N. Bukharin and Newbold the Communist M.P. and Dange has started an organisation for the dissemination of Bolshevik literature from Europe.

He has also been trying to introduce sympathisers into the Congress Committees in Bombay.

MADRAS : It is known of Singaravelu Chettiar that he wrote to Roy before August 1922 presumably in consequence of having received the 'Vanguard'. His principal activities have been described above. He favours open agitation. From a letter written by Roy on 6.1.23 it is evident that he has declined Roy's invitation to Berlin on the ground that he had no following and that work was only in the preparatory stage. In January he delivered a violent speech at an apparently private Congress Committee meeting urging the destruction of capitalism and landlordism.

In April he was in correspondence with the Bombay group and with Manilal (of Fiji) in Gaya and wanted a joint meeting.

On the 11th April the Madras Communists were reported to have adopted a 'Labour Swaraj' Manifesto drawn up by Manilal and to have practically secured the approval of C. R. Das for it. Manilal was said to be in touch with Mr. Sakletvala M.P.

The Manifesto is a comparatively mild document and this report may be an indication that the Madras Communists are, in Roy's terminology, working both 'legally' and 'illegally'. The Punjab or Lahore group of Communists came into existence in consequence of a visit paid to Kahul in June 1922 by Ghulam Hussain of Peshawar, a School master interested in communism. (Roy appears to refer consistently in his correspondence to Ghulam Hussain under the alias of Muhammad Siddiqi). This visit was made after consultation with Shamsuddin Hassan, Publicity Secretary of the North Western Railway Union, Lahore. It is possible that they had heard that Mota Singh, the Sikh agitator had received a subsidy from the Russians or their agents at Kabul. In any case Ghulam Hussain returned in July with a supply of £100 notes and he banked £720 in October and



£466 in December. He and Shamsuddin Hassan started a newspaper "Inqilab" in October, and in November and December published translations of the articles which form Roy's proscribed "India's Problem and its solution." They also distributed Communist pamphlets free of charge. They were about to start propaganda production on a larger scale but their schemes were apparently upset by the expulsion from Afghanistan of Indians who were working there as agents of the Bolsheviks.

They were in touch with important local agitators and there are indications that they used the Lahore National College as a centre for their propaganda.

M. N. Roy received early information of the existence of this independent group. In September Charles Ashleigh is believed to have mentioned it to Dange at Bombay and in December Roy instructed the leaders of the Bombay, Madras and Lahore groups to get into touch with one another. This instruction was carried out and in February Shamsuddin Hassan has been in communication with Singaravelu Chettiar of Madras and Dange of Bombay and was hoping to visit the latter and also the Calcutta group. He has informed Dange that his comrades in the Punjab had decided to form a Provincial Communist Party and that he, apparently in agreement with Singaravelu Chettiar, was in favour of open agitation.

**BENGAL:** The previous summary showed that Mozaffar Ahmad, the agent secured by Nalini Gupta during the latter's visit to India in the winter of 1921-22, was building up an organisation in Bengal with the help of members of the old revolutionary party and others. They had apparently sent seven Bengali students to Germany. Two more have reached Germany in the period under review.

They had also started direct propaganda. This had developed considerably and three prosecutions of their special newspaper 'Dhumketu' have resulted in an apology and in the convictions of two editors. It was through one of their number in America that Roy got into touch with Roy Bankim Chandra Banerji, an important worker in England.

In November they appear to have sent a representative to meet a Bolshevik emissary (Robin Kantor?) at Colombo whence they obtained a parcel of literature. In February they suggested through B. N. Biswas of the Trade Union Federation a general meeting of Indian Communists. Towards the end of

1922 Roy was expecting Muzaffar Ahmad to come to Europe and from this there resulted a gap in their correspondence. Roy had also been in touch with the Bengal revolutionaries through Roy B. C. Banerji, in England and he entered into direct correspondence with some of them in January. The subject of this correspondence have been Roy's Program for the Indian National Congress; the need for an emissary, preferably British, in India; propaganda; the formation of a party to influence C. R. Das the prominent leader; work amongst the labourers and cultivators; and the despatch of representatives to the proposed Conference in Europe. Muzaffar Ahmed has had a disagreement with one of his colleagues and he resents Roy's direct correspondence with them so much so that he has complained to Roy that two or three of them are spies. Roy may be able to dispel this misunderstanding by attributing it to the gap in his correspondence with Muzaffar Ahmed mentioned above but the fact remains that while a considerable amount of propaganda work has been done by the Bengal group their organisation is still rudimentary and is hampered by mutual suspicion. The old Bengal revolutionaries are seeking outlets for their energy. Many have obtained seats on Congress Committees; reports for February indicates that others want a renewal of revolutionary activities on the old lines and are collecting arms and recruiting members; some are working as communist agitators. These latter would appear still to be few but there are doubtless many others willing to use Roy's arguments and organisation for the purpose of anti-British agitation.

UNITED PROVINCES: Muhammad Shaukat Usmani of Bikanir, a Moscow trained agent has been in India for more than a year. A press telegram of the 11th May reports that he has just been arrested at Muslim National School, Cawnpore.

A detailed account of his activities and connections, so far as revealed by intercepted correspondence, is given in full statement.

About the beginning of September he established a nucleus of students in Benares and secured the co-operation of Sampurnanand, a political ex-convict. This man was in February 1923 in communication with J. L. Nehru, a well-known non-cooperation leader, and the latter had expressed satisfaction with a memorandum drawn up by Sampurnanand which had been specially commended by the "Advance Guard" for its

communist tendency. He is not a whole-hearted communist but Usmani has great hopes of him.

Little is known of Usmani's activities between October and February but he is believed to have been working at the Muslim National School, Cawnpore under the name of Habid Ahmad.

In February Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani of Cawnpore, a well-known agitator, published a Swaraj scheme which exhibits distinct traces of Communist influence. Mrs. Roy mentioned a Maulana Abdul Qadir in a letter to Usmani at the end of 1922. This is probably the same man. In February Usmani visited Calcutta and saw Muzaffar Ahmad.

He appears to have been responsible for the information of Communist Centres at Cawnpore, Benaras and possibly Aligarh in the United Provinces with connections also in Allahabad and Lucknow. He is in correspondence with Roy, and was directed in December to get into touch with Dange and Singaravelu Chettiar (Madras). He wrote the latter on the 9th February.

CENTRAL PROVINCES: In February S. Satyabhakta (who came to notice during the non-cooperation movement in the U.P. two years ago) editor of the "Pranvira" wrote to Dange (Bombay) saying that he was already a subscriber of some communist newspapers but wanted more. He intended to start a special newspaper for peasants and workers.

In April he was regularly publishing literature and was about to produce a new vernacular paper the "Shramajiva" (Labourer).

He has recently written to Sylvia Pankhurst asking for literature likely to be of use in the formation of a Communist group.

BURMA: Sylvia Pankhurst has also received a letter from Maung Bah Ohn in Burma acknowledging literature and saying that he saw no reason why he should not become a communist.

### III. AGENTS AND EMISSARIES

'MOSCOW-TRAINED' AGENTS: The activities of Usmani are fully described elsewhere. In October two agents, Ali Agha and Mirza Hussain (probably false names) left Ispahan with the intention of making their way to India.

Two agents have been mentioned in correspondence, under the pseudonyms of Afzal and Akram was in India. The former was in India in October but no trace has been obtained of the

latter and they have not been indentified. In December Roy wrote that four of the Moscow trained Indians were in India. He possibly meant Usmani, Afzal, Akram and Shafiq (who bolted to Afghanistan and has proved a disappointment to Roy). In January Akbar Shah *alias* Salam of Peshawar was under observation in India to which he made his way through Afghanistan some months previously. In September had left a letter for Usmani, at some place in India, discussing a suggestion that he (Akbar Shah) should give an undertaking to Government and settle down quietly for some time in India.

In January Gauhar Rahman *alias* Aziz of Hazara was in the Khyber Agency and had evidently applied for permission to return to India.

We have the names of 24 Indians who have received training in Tasrkent of Moscow.

*of these*

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Habib Ahmad of Shahjanpur      | } were arrested in November 1922 on their arrival in India via the Pamirs. |
| 2. Ferozuddin of Lahore           |  |
| 3. Rafiq Ahmad of Bhopal          |  |
| 4. Abdul Majid of Lahore          |  |
| 5. Abdul Kadir Sahrai of Peshawar |  |
| 6. Sultan Muhammad of Haripur     |  |
| 7. Fida Ali Khan of Peshawar      |  |
| 8. Akbar Shah of Peshawar         | is under surveillance in India.  |
| 9. Gauhar Rahman of Hazara        | probably ditto   |
| 10. M. S. Usmani of Bikanir       | has been in India for over a year. arrested about 11.5.23                  |
| 11. Master Abdul Hamid of Lahore  | } were left behind in Pmirs.   |
| 12. Said Raz of Delhi             |  |
| 13. Fazal Ilahi Malik of Lahore   | } last reported in Moscow.   |
| 14. Abdullah of Sialkot           |  |
| 15. Rahamat Ali Zakaria           | Last reported to have left Moscow for Persia.                              |
| 16. Abdul Qayum of Peshawar       | in service in Tashkent.  |

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 17. Abdul Aziz                        | last reported with Obeidullah<br>Probably in Moscow. |
| 18. Ali Shah of United Pro-<br>vinces | probably under arrest in<br>Moscow.                  |
| 19. Ghulam Ahmad Khan of<br>Hazara    | left Tashkent for India in the<br>summer of 1922.    |
| 20. Abdul Majid of Kohat              | last reported in Bokhara                             |
| 21. Abdul Rahim Anwar of<br>Lahore    | dead   |
| 22. Abdul Waris                       | reported in Moscow in Octo-<br>ber 1922              |
| 23. Ismail of Jullunder               | no information.                                      |
| 24. Shafiq Ahmad of Lahore            | last reported in Afghanistan.                        |

It is possible that "Afzal" and "Akram" for whom search is being made in India are numbers 19 and 23 above. One of them may possibly be Gopil Ballav Rai mentioned in the next paragraph.

EMISSARIES TO INDIA : We have heard nothing further of Gopi Ballav Rai, the emissary from M. N. Roy who went from Glasgow and was in Calcutta in September 1922.

Amitava Ghosh, who had been working for Roy in France, went to India in December. Nalini Gupta and G. A. K. Lohani are reported to be on their way to India. Information has been received of the intended deputation to India by the Communist International of an Englishman named Charles at the end of 1922 and in January of an organiser to be nominated by the British Communist Party.

In September four Russian stowaways were detained in Colombo. One named *Robin Kantor*, escaped to Madras where he was arrested and sent back to Colombo. While in Jail in Madras he was found talking with Political prisoners and it was discovered that he spoke Hindustani well.

EMISSARIES FROM INDIA : Bhupati Dutt and Jotindra Mitter arrived in Europe in September and November respectively as emissaries from the Bengal group. Nine such emissaries appear to have come to Berlin since Roy settled there but Roy, though he took Jotindra Mitter to Moscow with him, appears to have little use for them at present.

In January Muhammad Ashraf, B.A. of the National Muslim University, Aligarh was endeavouring to leave for Germany to get into touch with Roy.

#### IV. CONNECTIONS IN ENGLAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES

**ROY'S CONNECTIONS IN ENGLAND:** Further evidence has been obtained of Roy's connection with B. C. Banerji of Leeds and Khitish Chaterji of Cambridge. They have both been distributing Roy's communist literature. The former has been in touch with Bridget O'Harte an Irish Communist while an English Communist named Murphy spoke to Roy about the latter at Moscow where Roy had taken a programme prepared by him for submission to the Comintern. Ajoy Banerji has been working in connection with the Lascars Welfare League has asked the British Communists Tom Bell and Albert Inkpen to have him sent to Moscow.

The English Communists Newbold, Donovan, Impich (? Inkpen) and Teak (? Fred Peet) took part in January in the consultation at Berlin which led to the formation of the Indian Labour Bureau. Efforts are being made to secure Mr. Saklatvala's co-operation but he appears to be very cautious with regard to Roy's activities. This caution evidently springs from distrust not from timidity as Saklatvala has only quite recently delivered a bold speech at an Indian Conference in England and he considers that Labour should have a common International Policy.

ROBERT STEWART, a Communist has been trying to win over Indian students at Dundee University.

Roy and his agents are using a number of accomodation address in England.

"THE ORIENTAL INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION": The Lascars Welfare League described in the previous summary gave tea to 100 lascars to 28.1.23. Communism was preached on one or two occasions. Ajoy Banerji and Cleetus were however not satisfied with the League and wished to start something more militant.

Finally Ajoy Banerji, Pulin Dinda and J. C. Sen had a discussion with Saklatvala and a meeting was held on 25.2.23 at which the speakers were George Lansbury and N. Watkins of the Red International Labour Union. Shortly afterwards a constitution was drawn up with the help of Potter of the R.I.L.U. for an "Indian Seamen's Association". Apparently as a compromise, affiliation to the R.I.L.U. was not insisted on but a clause was inserted containing a declaration of identity of prin-

ciple with the R.I.L.U. This nominal moderation is probably due to Saklatvala's influence as he evidently did not wish the association to be entirely dominated by the R.I.L.U. through which he is working. It did not please Ajoy Banerji but he accepted a place on the Executive Committee with Saklatvala as President and two Lascar lodging-house keepers as Assistant Secretaries. The other members are P. B. Dinda, J. G. Sen and Rajeswaram.

At a meeting on 11.3.23 it was decided that the R.I.L.U. should secure a room for meetings and provide literature for distribution all over the world by means of lascars.

Communications regarding affiliation have been sent to English and Indian organisations.

At a meeting on 8.4.23 the title "Oriental International Seamen's Union" was adopted. Messrs Mackenzie (of the National Seamen's Union who works secretly for the R.I.L.U.) and Evans were present and it was announced that the Workers Welfare League had accepted P. B. Dinda as the Union's representative.

It seems clear that the Union will be merely the Oriental Branch of the R.I.L.U.

**WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA:** This was described in the previous summary. It has accepted an application for affiliation from Employees' Association, Calcutta\*, made through Saklatvala. Dr. Bhat being mentioned as the association's representative.

Saklatvala has appealed to the League for money for the organisation of Indian seamen.

#### CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER CENTRES

**FRANCE:** No further information has been received of Roy's connection with the French Communists but in December an Egyptian named Nasif, a Socialist who possesses a "Red Card" promised to help in smuggling the "Advance Guard" from Port Said to India.

**JAPAN:** In October Hugo Espinoza wrote to Roy for money with which to start a business. He discussed Roy's work and mentioned Nalini Gupta's return to Moscow.

**AMERICA:** Roy appears to have helped Santokh Singh and

\* Secretary Mukunda Lal Sarcar mentioned in the full statement as having distributed Communist pamphlet in Calcutta.

Rattan Singh of the Ghadr Party to come to Moscow. They have been trying to get to India with aid of Indian Independence Party. Indar Singh of the Ghadr Party wrote to Roy on 3.1.23 from San Francisco promising cooperation when possible.

#### V. PROPAGANDA

The 'Advance Guard' has resumed its original title of 'Vanguard' since the 15th February 1923. Subsequent issues have not yet been seen in this country but one at least has reached India.

In January, it was publishing "Letters from India" the result of the connections established in India by Roy. About 500 copies are being intercepted regularly in India as well as large quantities of Communist literature from Communist bodies in Europe, much of it addressed to Labour Unions.

There was slight diminution of output in January and February but this lasted for a few weeks only.

In October 1922 three packets of Bolshevik literature including 16 copies of Roy's "India in Transition" were found on a German ship in Leith.

In December 540 copies of Roy's 'Program' were intercepted at the Gaya Post Office.

M. N. Roy's special publications "India in Transition", "India's problems and its Solution", "What do we want?", "Labour Party", "Open Letter to C. R. Das" and "Program for the Indian National Congress" are described in the full statement of evidence which also gives particulars of some of his contributions to the "International Press Correspondence".

The "Vanguard" has drawn sympathetic letters and subscriptions from India, Java, Sierra Leone and the USA and it appears to have been the means by which Roy obtained two very valuable supporters, Dange in Bombay and Singaravelu Chettiar in Madras.

In the autumn of 1922 the following definitely communist publications were in existence.

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <p>"Atma Sakti"<br/>         "Dhumketu"<br/>         "Deshar Bani"</p> | } | <p>most run by former revolutionaries of Bengal.</p>                   |
| <p>"Socialist"</p>   |   | <p>English fortnightly (now a monthly) run by S. A. Dange, Bombay.</p> |



- "Nava Yuga"** Ditto by Krishna Rao, Madras.
- "Inqilab"** Vernacular fortnightly, now a monthly.  
Run by Ghulam Hussain and Shamsuddin Hassan, Lahore.

(It ceased to appear in February.)

The "Hindustan" (Bombay) and "Pranvira" (Nagpur) have become Communist and the editor of the latter was in February about to start a new Communist-labour newspaper.

A number of papers including the important "Amrita Bazar Patrika" (Calcutta), the "Servant" (Bombay), and the "Bande Mataram" (Lahore) have been publishing pro-Bolshevik articles. The last mentioned published the objectionable Manifesto from the Third International to the Congress which appeared in the "Vanguard". "The Nation" which was started as an English daily at Lahore on the 1st January declared itself opposed to imperialism and capitalism. In March it was publishing communist literature.

Generally there has been a marked increase of propaganda. Much of it is of the insidious kind dealing with the interests of labour and the necessity for organising the workers. This was encouraged by the Congress resolution passed in December, for the organisation of Labour and it would appear that Indian editors consider that labour offers them as safe a shield as did non-violent non-cooperation for a considerable period.

C. R. DAS : Its effect on leading politicians can be illustrated from the performance of Mr. C. R. Das. At Lahore about the beginning of November he suggested the changed programme of the Congress should include the organisation of labour.

A few days later at Dehra Dun he and V. J. Patel spoke of the interests of the masses as those of the capitalists. These utterances were applauded by the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and the "Socialist".

About the same time C. R. Das explained to some friends that he had been converted to the theory that without the support of the masses no advance was possible.

After the Gaya Congress there came a period of self-explanation. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" tried to explain on 2.1.23 that there was no connection between Roy's theories and those of C. R. Das and a few weeks later C. R. Das himself an-

nounced in a speech at Bombay that his scheme of Swaraj would recognise private property and encourage the growth of individual wealth.

### CONCLUSION

The outstanding facts appear to be :—

- (1) The importance of Berlin as a Centre of Indian intrigues has increased.
- (2) Money is being spent lavishly on propaganda and sparingly on agents and organisations.
- (3) The newly established Indian Labour Bureau is likely to prove mischievous.
- (4) Roy's "foundation" has grown into a frame work. He can now say truly that his party has branches in almost every province of India.
- (5) Usmani, an active agent, trained at Moscow, had been in India for more than a year when arrested at Cawnpore about the 11th May.
- (6) We are not fully aware how far the Indian police have succeeded in obtaining information regarding the newly formed Communist nuclei.
- (7) The "Lascar's Welfare League" has grown into "The Oriental International Seamen's Union" with Saklatvala as President. It is likely to be practically a branch of the R.I.L.U. It appears not to have started work seriously yet and funds have still to be found.
- (8) The emissaries from the American 'Ghadr' Party have been in Moscow and are trying to go to India.
- (9) Robin Kantor, who was arrested in Madras, was almost certainly a Bolshevik emissary. We know little about him and his companions.
- (10) There has been a considerable increase of communist or quasi-communist propaganda in India.

F. 103/V

PREVIOUS REFERENCE : (1) F. 103/IV of 1923; (2) F. 36 of 1924.

Precis on Bolshevism prepared by DIB. Desirability of carrying out searches in the houses of prominent persons connected with communist operations in India.

In accordance with Hon'ble member's verbal instructions.

I forward twelve copies of the note, prepared in this Bureau, on the communist agitation in India.

This is all "publicable" information, there is nothing in it the publication of which will endanger agents avenues of information. I do not suggest that it should be published; but, if any local government decided to use parts or the whole of it for publication, there would be no objection so far as this bureau is concerned, to their doing so.

I suggest that, when this is forwarded to local government (as it was Hon'ble member's intention that it should be), they should be invited to carry out searches in the house of the individuals, whose names and identity are already well-known to the local CID's, connected with the organisation: since these are likely to reveal further evidences of the ramifications of the conspiracy.

Sd. C. Kaye.

14.6.23.

The existence of a communist conspiracy in India has become a matter of common knowledge since the publication of British note to Russia. In that document some indications were given of the methods, inspired from Moscow, which had been adopted to introduce and develop communist organisations in this country, as also the channels through which these organisations have been financed. The details given in the British note, however, only revealed a part of the story. In particular, the extent to which communist work had developed in India was not stated; nor was any indication given regarding the exact objects for which Indian Communists are working.

The history of the efforts made by the III International to introduce communism into India really begins in 1920, when the notorious Indian revolutionary M. N. Roy found his way to Moscow. M. N. Roy's name is already familiar through his "programme for the Indian National congress", cabled out to India by Reuter last December on the eve of the Gaya Congress. Reuter's message on that occasion gave certain facts regarding Roy's previous record. Without adding to these, it will be of interest to define more precisely his connections with the III International. M. N. Roy's reason for going to Moscow was quite simple. The war was over: the Germans, by whom he had been previously employed, had no further use for his services;

and he was at a loose end. To a man of his peculiar talents, Moscow offered a natural home, a chance of earning a livelihood, and the possibility of handling large sums of money. Roy was not mistaken in his estimate of the situation. He arrived in Moscow as an enthusiastic Communist, and within a short time found himself entrusted by the III International with the task of building up and directing a Communist Party of India. He commenced operations by despatching to India various emissaries, chosen from Indians who had accompanied him to Moscow, charged with instructions to preach Bolshevism and to found a communist nuclei at suitable centres in the country. A considerable number of these Bolshevik agents succeeded in reaching India, the first arriving towards the end of 1921. In the majority of cases they were either arrested at once or they found the police so hot on their trail that they fled the country without having carried out their mission. Two of them, however, Nalini Gupta and Shaukat Usmani, achieved a certain amount of success, and it was through their efforts that communist centres came into being in Calcutta and in the United Provinces (Benares and Cawnpore). From the beginning of 1922, Roy followed up the despatch of these agents by sending a flood of printed propaganda pamphlets to India through the post. In May 1922 his fortnightly journal of "Vanguard" (Prohibited entry into Indian under the Sea Customs Act) made its appearance, since when some thousand copies have regularly been sent fortnightly to India. As the result of this propaganda campaign, Singaravelu Chettiar in Madras and S. A. Dange in Bombay became interested in communism, opened up communications with Roy, through the post, and have since taken a leading part in forming communist groups in their respective cities. The remaining important communist groups in India was formed at Lahore by Ghulam Hussain towards the end of 1922. Ghulam Hussain had previously been a school master in Peshawar and his conversion to communism resulted from a visit he paid to Kabul in June 1922 when he came into contact with the Bolsheviks and was given a considerable sum of money by them to form a communist party in Northern India. From Kabul he went to Lahore in the following July, established a communist newspaper, the "Inqilab" and began to organise a communist party.

The result of the despatch of agents and propaganda litera-

ture to India has been, therefore, the formation of Communist centres in Calcutta, Benares, Cawnpore, Madras, Bombay and Lahore. All these groups have been working in communication with Roy and according to his instructions. Their work at the outset was naturally chiefly confined to recruitment of members and the dissemination of Communist literature received from abroad.

The Calcutta group, to which allusion has already been made, was started by Muzaffar Ahmad, a journalist who owed his conversion to communism to the visit paid by Nalini Gupta to India at the beginning of 1922. Since that date Muzaffar Ahmad had been in direct correspondence with Roy and at irregular intervals has received small sums of money from him. He was connected with the group of individuals responsible for the production of "Dhumketu" newspaper, against which action has on more than one occasion been taken by Government, and he has opened up relations with certain labour agitators in Calcutta, notably Mukunda Lal Sarkar and J. N. Biswas of the Employees' Association. He has also been in touch with certain well-known ex-revolutionaries whose names need not be given here. Prof. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar has also been in correspondence with Dange of Bombay, and has been spreading communist propaganda in his capacity as a labour agitator.

In the United Provinces Communist groups were founded in Benares and Cawnpore by Shaukat Usmani, the other agent sent from Moscow whose name has also been previously mentioned.

The individuals chiefly involved in Benares are a certain number of students in the Benares Hindu University, whose names are known to Government and of whom Imamuddin Pizui was the most important, and Sampurnanand, a Benares non-cooperator of local notoriety. In Cawnpore Muhammad Habib, the Head Master of the Muslim National School, who sheltered Usmani for some time, is the most prominent figure. In Lucknow, H. A. Malik, the Secretary of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway Union, has been in correspondence with Ghulam Hussain of Lahore in connection with latter's Communist propaganda. In addition to these names a certain number of youths gave assistance in various ways to Usmani. Their activities have been under close but unobtrusive watch.

In Bombay a journalist named S. A. Dange undertook the

formation of a Communist group and established a monthly journal entitled the "Socialist", which has regularly published Communist propaganda.

In this work he is being helped by T. A. Párvate and also by certain other individuals whose names are well-known to the authorities; some of whom have allowed themselves to be used as accomodation addresses for communications, letters, and literature, sent from Europe by M. N. Roy. Dange has been in regular correspondence with M. N. Roy and was formally appointed as Roy's chief representative in India by the Bolshevik agent Charles Ashleigh, who handed over to him certain instructions from Roy before being himself deported from Bombay.

In Madras Communist activity has taken a slightly different form. There, Singaravelu Chettiar, with M.P.S. Velayudham as Chief Assistant, has been working in touch with Dr. Manilal and Ganga Prasad, both of Gaya, and others, in drawing up a constitution for a "legal" Communist Party which he has called the "Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan". This move has been taken in direct communication with Roy and according to his advice, the aim being to form an ostensibly harmless "legal" organisation under the shelter of which an inner circle of revolutionary communists may be recruited.

This point has been very clearly developed in intercepted correspondence which has passed between Roy and his agents in India. Roy has laid great stress on the formation of a "legal" party and it is interesting to note that the same proccdure has been followed by the Communist Party in America, where a workers' party has been formed for identically the same reasons.

Recruitment for the "Labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan" is now being actively pushed both in Madras and the other Centres where Communist Parties exist.

Dr. Manilal, already mentioned, deserves special notice. He is the well-known labour agitator who was successively externed from Fiji, New Zealand and Ceylon, and refused permission to practise in the High Courts of Madras and Bombay; he is now practising in Bihar and Orissa. He was the original author of 'Manifesto' on which Singaravelu's published Manifesto was based; and, though he has been clever enough to keep himself in the background, there is ample evidence that he is deeply implicated in the propaganda carried on more openly by others.

The Editors of two other newspapers in the Madras Presi-

dency (Krisna Rao "*Navajuga*" and K. L. Ayar "*Swadharma*") have also taken an active part in assisting Dange and Singaravelu in their work, and in the preparation of the latter's Manifesto.

It has already been stated that a Communist Centre at Lahore was formed by Ghulam Hussain as a result of a visit paid by him to Kabul in June, 1922. The work done at Lahore has been very similar to that carried on at other centres. Communist literature has been distributed and translations into the vernacular of proscribed pamphlets written by M. N. Roy have been published in the columns of the *Inqilab*, the paper founded by Ghulam Hussain with the money he obtained from Kabul, which has been supplemented by further sums sent to him from the same source in the form of British Government £100 notes, whose origin has been indicated in the recent British note to Russia. The *Inqilab* on the exhaustion of subsidy obtained from Kabul ceased publication, and the activity of the Lahore Communists is now confined to recruitment for the "Labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan" originated by Singaravelu, and to attempt to obtain a footing in the labour organisation at Lahore.

Ghulam Hussain's Chief Assistants are one Shamsuddin Hassan, formerly publicity Secretary of the North West Rly. Workers Union and M. A. Khan, the well-known labour agitator.

There is also a tentative organisation in the Central Provinces, where the editor of a newspaper has been in correspondence with Dange, and also with certain extreme communists in Europe, on the subject of communism, the tenets of which cult find frequent expression in his newspaper.

Finally a brief reference may be made to the theories held by Roy and the results he desires to achieve through his agents in India. He is, of course, out to overthrow the present Government of India, but that is merely a preliminary step to the really vital struggle which he considers will follow, *i.e.* the struggle between the capitalists, white or brown, and the depressed and toiling masses. His propaganda is designed to show that the capitalist, Indian or English, the Zaminder and the rich landlord, is an enemy of the people equally with the present British Government, and they both have to be fought and overcome.

The following extracts from Roy's printed propaganda will exemplify these points:—

"We want to overthrow foreign domination in order that the social forces, cramped so far, are allowed free play, which will mean the crumbling of our dilapidated social structure and the growth of a new one on the ruins of the old".

"To day most of us work for the foreigner who refuse us the fruits of our labour; but there are numerous people who are employed by our countrymen and their condition is no better than that of the people who work for the English. So nationality makes no difference. The employers exploit the workers just as the landlords rob the cultivators, irrespective of nationality."

"We are determined to overthrow foreign rule in order to end all class rule, and we have declared war on the system that permits the idle rich to thrive on the toil of the industrious worker."

"When the British Government is overthrown and the Government of Indian landlords, merchants and manufacturers is established in its place, will that change the miserable condition of the Indian workers and peasants? No. The interests of these two classes are not the same."

"Foreign rule must be ended and national self-government put in its place. But the administration of independent India must not be allowed to fall into the hands of the native exploiting classes. \* \* \* \*

We must lead the masses of our people to support the upper and middle classes in their struggle against imperialist domination, but we must never for a moment confuse our goal with theirs. They want to go to certain distance and stop. \* \* \*

We demand the expropriation of all big estates belonging to the zamindars, talukdars, sardars, jagirdars and other aristocrats and feudal lords. Swaraj must put an end to this inequitable distribution of land—a distribution that is based on the principle of exploitation. The land should be given to those who cultivate it."

"Our ultimate object is a complete social revolution which means the abolition of private ownership and the means of production, distribution and exchange. Only thus will the real freedom of the Indian people be achieved. The political independence of the nation must be followed by the economic emancipation of the masses."



F 103—PART I

PESHAWAR BUREAU CYPHER TELEGRAM : 10-B OF 7TH MARCH  
1923, ADDRESSED CRIMINARE  
“P” Copy

Your letter 5-Bol.—23 of 27th February 1923. I have considered matter again with P. P. and am now definitely of opinion that we cannot include Usmani in the Peshawar conspiracy case and I think therefore that we should cancel the warrant issued against him from here. There is no direct evidence in our possession of his activity at Moscow and Tashkent. Further he has never entered N.W.F. Province since leaving Russia which according to Section 188, Cr. P. C., bars his trial in Peshawar. The facts against him are different from those against other accused, and our case could be both weakened and complicated by his inclusion.

In spite of this, I still require Roy's letter to Dange, dated December 25th and evidence of its interception for production in my case. Roy's letter will be produced as late as possible in my case in order to give further time for Usmani's arrest. Personally I consider it doubtful if the mention of Usmani's name in Roy's letter will attract any attention. At present Roy's letter will merely be filed as accused are reserving their cross-examination, and it will not be discussed until some months hence when accused open their defence in the sessions court. I attach great importance to Roy's letter. You should be able to try Usmani separately, if arrested, on the evidence of intercepted letters in your possession, and with the judgment of the highest court in the N. W. F. P. (1921 Conspiracy Case) to establish the existence of Roy's revolutionary conspiracy.

[ Notes in the Intelligence Bureau. ]

From : C. KAYE—17.3.23.

*Home Department should see this Telegram*

I have deferred submitting it until I could find out how the prospects of Usmani's arrest stand. Enquiry from Calcutta (where it was belived that he has been indentified under another name) elicited the information that, although efforts to trace him continue, they have so far been unsuccessful. This evidently means that the tentative indentification has been turned out to be wrong. There is reason to suppose that Usmani has left Calcutta.

—an intercepted letter from him was posted recently at Aligarh, though this does not, of course, definitely prove that he posted it himself. Enquiry has also been made, on his behalf for "Usmani's passport" which was said (is the intercepted letter of enquiry), to be in possession of one of his cover addresses in Bombay. This certainly suggests Usmani's intention of leaving India—probably to attend Berlin meeting announced recently by Roy. Our information is, that Usmani got into India as a Persian, on a Persian passport obtained for him, at Tcheran by Rothstein, the Bolshevik Minister to Persia. This is doubtless the passport about which he is enquiring, so that the presumption is that this is the one that he intends to use. Informal enquiry from the Political and Foreign Department seems to show that, if the Persian Consul is satisfied that the applicant is a Persian, there would be no difficulty in getting his passport visaed for Persia : there is some doubt, indeed, whether he would even have to have this done. If, however, he means to attend Roy's Conference at Berlin, which is billed for the end of March, he would probably leave Bombay by Sea : in which case his passport would need to be visaed by a European Consul if he asked for a visa at all. It is quite possible that he may intend to leave as a lascar—indeed he may have done so already : perhaps from Calcutta. Nalini Gupta who came to India as a Lascar, carried his passport with him, presumably as a "Second line of defence" and Shaukat Usmani may want his own passport for a similar reason. We do not know in what name his Persian passport was made out ; but it is unlikely to have been in his (assumed) name of Shaukat Usmani, as this is, I am told, not a name that would certainly be accepted, by a Persian, as a Persian name, though an Indian might so accept it. It might possibly, I believe, be a Persian Sunni name, though even that is unlikely : to any intelligent Indian or Persian it would appear to be what, in fact, it is—a 'fancy' name. If Shaukat Usmani succeeds in getting back to Europe after an 18 months "free run" in India, the Secretary of State will have cause for complaint ; but I cannot see any method of preventing it except what we are already doing—enjoining special vigilance by CID at ports, in addition to the efforts to trace Shaukat Usmani, and arrest him, before he leaved.

2. I wrote to Mr. Ewart in reply to this Telegram, asking him not to cancel the warrant until he heard from me again, as I intended to refer the matter to Home Department. He replied

demi-officially, that "the warrant has not been cancelled but that his suggestion was intended to prevent possible muddle if he were arrested on a warrant as it was then impossible to proceed further." He promised to write again with reference to the possibility of undertaking Shaukat Usmani's prosecution, if he is arrested after going into the matter further and taking the Chief Commissioner's orders. It is evidently not considered good enough to try him in Peshawar with the others : but it might be possible to get a separate case against him. Section 188, Cr. P. C. is difficult : but I doubt very much whether a separate trial elsewhere would have any chance of success. "The evidence of intercepted letters in our possession" is almost without exception, evidence that we could not produce in a court of law without giving away our own agents and methods : and I feel sure that "the judgment of the highest court in the N. W. F. P." would carry no weight elsewhere. If section 188 Cr. P. C., bars in his trial in N. W. F. P. and if as I think—we could not run a case against Shaukat Usmani elsewhere, with any reasonable hope of success, there only remains Regulation III, but, as the first necessity is to get hold of him, I think the warrant should not be withdrawn, since its existence will make it easier to arrest him. If this can be done, it would be time enough to consider, then the legal aspect of the case and the form of action which should be taken against him.

Home Department (Hon'ble Mr. Crerar)

I do not consider that it would be advisable either (1) to proceed against Usmani in the case now pending against the other Muhajirin or (2) to prosecute him separately in the N. W. F. P.

If he is found, he should be dealt with under the Regulation.

Sd. J. Crerar 17.3.23.

I agree. Sd. W. M. Halley 17.3.23.

#### APPENDIX TO NOTES.

In the Court of J. H. R. Fraser, O. B. E., J. C. S., Sessions Judge,  
Peshawar.

Crown Vs.	1. Mohammad Akbar	— 3 years
	2. Bahadur	— 1 year
	3. Hafizulla Khan	— acquitted.
	(Father of 1)	

*Charge* Section 121-A. I. P. C.

In The Court of.....Do-

Crown Vs. 1. Md. Akbar — 7 years.  
 2. Md. Hassan. } — 5 years.  
 3. Ghulam Mahbub }

In The Court of.....	-do-	Age
1 Akbar Shah S/o. Baz Gul of Badrashi		23
2 Ferozdin S/O Murad Baksh of Sheikhpura		21
3. Abdul Majid S/O Faiz Bux of Lahore		21
4. Habib Ahmad S/O Mustak Ahmad of Shajahanpur.		
5. Rafiq Ahmad S/O Nur Ahmad of Bhopal		24
6. Sultan S/O Abdul Jabbar of Rehana, Dist. Hazara		24
7. Abdul Kadir S/O Md. Hassan of Peshawar City.		22
8. Gauhar Rahaman S/O Aziz Khan of Darwesh, Tehsil Haripur, Dist. Hazara.		27

Sentence : 2, 3, 4, 5, 6—One year rigorous imprisonment.

1, 8 — Two years rigorous imprisonment.

7 — Released.

#### INTRODUCTORY

The conspiracy is said to have occurred in Tashkent (Russian Turkestan) and Moscow. The present accused become connected with it owing to their departure from India during the Hijarat movement in the spring of 1920. This movement and the fate of those who took part in it (Muhajirin) have been described at length in my order dated the 31st May 1922 in the case Crown Vs. Mohammad Akbar, etc. Section 121-A, I. P. C. An extract from the order, in which a returned muhajir, Md. Akbar was sentenced is appended to this judgment. For the purpose of the present order it will suffice to note that some 200 of these "Muhajirin" left Jabal Siraj near Kabul, with a view to join the Turks fighting in Anatolia. They were in two Kafilas, the first headed by Md. Akbar of Haripur, the second by one Akbar Jan. The two parties joined up again at Patakeswar on the Oxus, where they were welcomed by the Bolsheviks. Md. Akbar's Kafilas left this place first, was captured enroute by the Turkomans and eventually succeeded in reaching Charjui on the river. Emissaries from the Indian Party at Tashkent succeeded in persuading a great many members of the caravan to move on the Tashkent, the seat of what once had been styled the "Provisional Government of India". They had arrived there about October

1920. Some of this "Kafila," however, insisted on carrying on straight to Baku in the hope of reaching Turkey. None of these succeeded and they eventually returned, some to Tashkent and some to their own homes.

Akbar Jan's 'Kafila' Patakesar after Md. Akbar's, and without undergoing any great hardships succeeded in reaching Bukhara where the great majority of them remained until they returned to India.

At Tashkent the majority of the Indians lived in what was known as India House. Roy, however, who was in charge of the Bolshevik Eastern propaganda, had set up a school there for the training of Indians. This school was a big dormitory situated a mile or more distant from the India House. The students worked and slept there and were quite separate from the Indians staying in the India House. Some 26 young men joined this school for reasons which will be discussed later. They were divided into 3 Classes—the aviation, in which advanced subjects were taught, the infantry and lastly soldiers, whose work was confined to drill.

Md. Akbar studied at this school for a short time before he was sent off to his mission in India, where he was eventually arrested in September 1921, and finally sentenced under section 121-A I. P. C., in my judgment mentioned above.

During the early spring of 1921, the majority of these 200 'Muhajirin' who had travelled as far as Russian Turkistan or the extreme confines of Afghanistan, begun to drift back towards India. The first party entered the Peshawar district on June 1921 and practically all of them had returned by the autumn of that year. It was about this time (October 1921) that the Tashkent school was closed by the Russians in consequence of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. Some ten of those, who had been working in the school, insisted on leaving Tashkent and were sent off at once to Baku with the idea of reaching Anatolia. They never succeeded and eventually by various routes managed to struggle home. The other 16 students of the school, who presumably were better educated and regarded by the Bolsheviks as promising pupils of their doctrines, were sent about a month later to Moscow. The Bolsheviks had established at Moscow, a branch of the University which Roy now styles "the University of the Eastern peoples". In this University were collected people of all countries of the near East excluding Afghanistan. They were being trained in Sociology as interpreted by the

Bolsheviks. The finished was to be sent back to his own country to propagate Bolshevik doctrines and to prepare the soil, no doubt, for an eventual Bolshevik harvest. The 16 Indian students were kept separate from other orientals and received lectures in English from Russians and occasionally from Roy, Mukherjee and men of his party.

From time to time these students were sent off to various places in order, no doubt, to further their acquaintance with communism by practical experience of its working. Some of them, for instance, were taken on an excursion to see the sights of Petrograd. Others attended conferences at Baku. The course closed about 1922 and those of the original students who remained were sent back to Tashkent. It is known that of the present accused, Akbar Shah and Gauhar Rahaman, had left Moscow before April, 1922. The remaining 6 accused were sent back to Tashkent where they were kept hanging about until towards the end of September. They were then given Russian passports and started off with some Russian troops going on relief to the Russian garrisons in the Pamir. The party consisted of these 6 accused with Fida Ali, who has been given a pardon and three other Indians. They travelled *via* Skobtief Osh, Murgabhai to Kharogh. Here the Russian Officer, who was in charge of the troops and of the accused, handed them over some money and passports and sent them off in different batches. With the first batch were Feroze Din, Abdul Majid, Habib Ahmad and Rafiq Ahmad accused. They went to Ishkashim, a village which lies on the northern border of Wakhan. Wakhan is a district of Afghanistan, a small narrow strip of country which intervenes between the Pamirs and Chitral. It and all the surrounding country is extremely mountainous, intersected with very difficult passes which, in the late autumn, must be deep in snow.

The Russian passports had not been visaced by the Afghan authorities. The Russian agent at Ishkashim pretended to be very anxious lest the returning Indians should be caught by the Afghans during their journey across Wakhan. They were, therefore, directed to travel on the least frequented routes. The exact lines adopted by Feroz Din and his 3 companions is not known. It was apparently in almost a straight southerly direction over the Agram pass. At any rate this party of 4 were seen in Chitral, were produced before the Mehtar of Chitral, and, on 11th November 1922, made statements before Md. Shfdar Khan.

Indian Political Assistant, Chitral. All 4 men then asserted that they had never been further than Mazar-I-Sharif in Afghanistan, where they had kept a shop.

They were by no means destitute, four of them had about Rs. 500 in Indian currency notes, 5 English sovereigns and some small change. They said that they had lost their passport in the snow.

Returning to Kharogh, we find that three more of the Party of ten were despatched about a week after the first four. They were Sultan, Abdul Kadir and Fida Ali, accused. They too went to Ishkashim where they were provided with local guides. It was not considered advisable that they should take the same route as that adopted by their 4 companions. They, were, therefore, sent in north Easterly direction to Langa post. They crossed Wakhan travelling by night only and entered Chitral by the Baroghil pass, where their passport was endorsed by the Mehtar's Munshi on 16th November. They, too, were sent to Chitral and made statements before the Indian Political Assistant on 23rd November. They said that the whole period of their absence had been spent by them either in Bokhara or at Tashkent. They made no mention of their journey to Moscow. They, too, were not destitute. They had 23 Russian sovereigns between them and some small change. They had Russian passports dated 3rd August 1922 and signed by Commissar (?) Bizof.

Both batches were eventually sent in custody to Peshawar where they were formally arrested in the middle of December. On arrival at Peshawar, they admitted to the CID authorities that they had been reading in the Tashkent school and the Eastern University at Moscow.

It has been mentioned above that Akbar Shah and Gauhar Rahaman, accused left Moscow before the other students. Akbar Shah appeared voluntarily before the assistant Commissioner, Naoshira on 20th August, 1922, and made statement in which he said that he had been in the India House at Tashkent for 8 months and for 4 months at the Moscow University, whence he had returned *via* Ashkabad, Meshed, Herat, Kandahar, Jalalabad, Shinwari country and Kohat pass. He was bound over in security under section 40, F. C. R. on 22nd November, 1922, because it was feared lest he should return to Russia by way of Chitral.

Gauhar Rahaman, accused, was first located at Jamrud

towards the end of 1922, though he had actually returned during the early autumn. Through his father he made overtures for return, but was informed that he must surrender unconditionally or be expelled from the Khyber Agency. He surrendered and was formally arrested on 1st March, 1923.

A third person, Ghulam Ahmad, to whom a pardon was granted, requires notice. He appeared at Meshed at the end of May 1922. He was thence forwarded *via* Duzdap and Quetta to Peshawar. This summary enables us to appreciate the evidence produced by the prosecution. There are 6 material witnesses; of them 2 are approvers, Ghulam Ahmad and Fida Ali.

Ghulam Ahmad says he was in the Tashkent school from October 1920 till it was closed, except for a period of 2 months when he was sent to the Crimea to recuperate. He was also sent with other students to Moscow, but fell ill there and returned to Tashkent. He visited Baku and Ashkabad and spent sometimes in a military school at Bokhara. Later he passed some 3 months again in Tashkent which he actually left in April 1922 with a properly prepared Afghan passport. For some reason or other he and his companions made forged alterations in their passports so as to make them valid for Persia. With the help of these forged passports they reached Meshed at the end of May 1922. He is not prepared to commit himself fully to admit that he himself was coming on a propagandist mission to India. He allows so much, however, that Roy and his friends told him that they were to go to India to do propaganda work and that Gauhar Rahaman, accused, actually left for that purpose. He even goes so far as to say that those of the Tashkent school students who went on mission went willingly.

Fida Ali is responsible for the following items of information :—

Roy had opened the school to train Indians for propaganda work in India. During the Tashkent period Abdul Majid, Sultan and Gauhar Rahaman with Shaukat Usmani were sent off to Moscow for a T. U. Conference. Rafiq Ahmad at one time was sent off with Shaukat Usmani to the railhead at Andijan to ascertain whether Pamir route was possible. Akbar Shah with Masud Ali Shah for a conference at Baku. During the Moscow period Akbar Shah and Gauhar Rahaman had been sent away and were believed to have returned to India *via* Persia disguised as workmen. On the other hand, these witnesses explain that



it was only by a threat to stop provisions of food that the Russians induced the Indians both to enter the Tashkent school and to go on to Moscow.

\* \* \* \*

Masud Ali Shah and Shaukat Usmani, it seems, Roy's favourites and lived with him in his house, and not at the school. Shaukat Usmani was actually arrested in India at Cawnpore on 10th May 1923, a few days before the commencement of this trial.

\* \* \* \*

A full account of the aims and objects of the University of the Eastern People is also given in Qurban's article in the "Vanguard" of 1st April, 1923.

The particular document which requires careful consideration is a letter intercepted in Bombay. This letter dated 25th December 1922 from Roy in Berlin to Musharaf-ul-Abadin of Bombay. It contains an enclosure which Musharaf-ul-Abadin was asked to deliver personally to Dange. (Dange is the editor of the "Socialist" of Bombay).

The enclosure is a letter also dated Berlin 25th December, from Roy to "Comrade Dange". The whole contents are interesting. One portion relates to the present accused or at any rate to persons whose experience in Russia must have been very similar to that of the accused. The passage runs :

"A number of boys who have received their training in Moscow have been sent back to India. They are all members of our party (Communist Party of India). Ordinarily they were not very suitable material being "Khilafat" pilgrims on their way to Angora, but we got hold of them and could make some of them over. Their intellectual calibre, however, is not up to the mark, nor are they proletarian. But they are good boys and have received a fairly good Marxian training. They will develop in practice, four of them are already in India, and seven more are on the way. One of them Shaukat Usmani writes me about you, and says that he is trying to get in touch with you. He is a good and earnest chap, but rather erratic in his ways. He needs a strong control. I have instructed him to work under your directions and get all our boys in touch with you. We must centralise our activities. Please get hold of these boys and have them work in concert. Their first duty is to

build up a paying circulation to our central organ. I hope you will give them detailed instructions as to how to do it in the Northern Provinces. One of them can be posted in the harbour of Bombay to organize illegal transportation of literature through the Indian sailors”.

Under Section 121-A, I.P.C. the following sentences are passed :—

- |                    |   |                               |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| (1) Feroz Din      | } | one year R. I. each.          |
| (2) Abdul Majid    |   |                               |
| (3) Habib Ahmad    |   |                               |
| (4) Rafik Ahmad    |   |                               |
| (5) Sultan         | } | 2 years R. I. each.           |
| (6) Akbar Shah     |   |                               |
| (7) Gauhar Rahaman |   |                               |
| (8) Abdul Kadir    |   | is acquitted and is released. |

18th May, 1923.

J. H. R. Fraser I.C.S.  
Sessions Judge

From : The Hon'ble Sir John Maffey, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., C.I.E.,  
Chief Commissioner, N.W.F.P.

To : The Foreign Secretary.

To : The Foreign Secretary,

Government of India, Foreign and Political Dept.

Subject :—INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY AGENTS INTERCEPTED AT  
CHITRAL AND SENT UNDER ESCORT TO PESHAWAR.

I have the honour to submit, for the orders of the Government of India, the case of 8 marginally noted Indians,\* who after a period of 2 years' training in revolutionary propaganda school and the Moscow University for the workers of the East, have been intercepted at Chitral while endeavouring to reach India via the Russian Pamirs.

- \* 1. Habib Ahmad of Shahjahanpur, U.P.
- 2. Feroz Din of Sheikhpura, Punjab.
- 3. Rafiq Ahmad of Bhopal.
- 4. Abdul Majid *alias* Sahrai of Lahore.
- 5. Abdul Qadir of Peshawar.
- 6. Sultan of Haripur, Hazara, N.W.F.P.
- 7. Fida Ali of Peshawar.
- 8. Akbar Shah of Badrashi, Peshawar Dist.

Copies of the statements of these suspects have already been forwarded on December 21st to Mr. Howell by the O. C. Intelligence Bureau, Peshawar. These statements supported as they are by much independent information already on record, fully establish the fact that the 8 individuals, now under arrest, together with at least 4 others, whose names are noted in the margin,\* but who have not yet reached India, have been sent to India by the Russian Government to act as secret agents and propagandists of the revolution. Moreover the statements of Abdul Qadir and Fida Ali in particular show that they and their companions were willing cooperators in this plot.

- \* 1. Gauhar Rahman of Haripura, Hazara, N.W.F.P.
- 2. Said Raz of Delhi.
- 3. Abdul Hamid of Lahore.
- 4. Nizam Din, an army deserter.

*Very Secret*

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT OF 7 BOLSHEVIK TRAINED INDIANS  
NOW UNDER ARREST IN PESHAWAR. (with Explanatory Notes)

I. TRAINING & INCIDENTS AT TASHKENT, 1920-21

On their arrival at Tashkent they joined the Military School which was in charge of Freuloff. This was divided into an aviation class (about 30 members) for the better educated and an infantry class (about 10 members) for the remainder (Note : In December 1921 the Hindustani School was said to have Nur Mohamad, a Tartar as Principal). In the latter they were taught the theory and practice of musketry and machine guns and also had a few days' instruction on field guns. The object was said to fit them to serve their country or the Bolsheviks, whichever they preferred.

After about six months the school was closed in the summer of 1921 in consequence of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement of 16th March, 1921.

During this period Shaukat Usmani and Abdul Majid of Lahore were sent for special training to Moscow and were away from Tashkent for about 4 months.

Abdul Majid says that at Moscow he did 3 months' training in Trade Unionism and that Shaukat Usmani was sent to Crimea for his health. Fida Ali says that Shaukat Usmani, Rafiq Ahmad

and Shms-ul-Kamar were sent off to prospect the Pamir route which they reported to be impossible on account of Kirgiz raids.

He also says that Akbar Shah and Masud Ali were sent to Baku to attend a Communist Conference in 1920.

Feroz Din says that Abdul Qadir Sahrai was also sent to Moscow with Shaukat Usmani and Abdul Majid of Lahore and that they returned to Tashkent after about 2 months.

Habib Ahmad says that he and others put in application to be enrolled as Communists saying that they had been converted by reading pamphlets. Otherwise the suspects display a singular reticence regarding the non-military portion of their training. Roy was in Tashkent and must have taught them communism.

## II. TRAINING AT MOSCOW : 1921-22 (April)

When the Tashkent school was closed the Indian students were sent to Moscow where, on their arrival in the late summer of 1921, they were admitted to the University of Workers of the East where almost every Asiatic race was represented. The staff consisted of Broida (Principal), Levenstein, Box, Feinberg and others. [Md. Faruq (Ashur) said that this was in August 1921. Twenty three Indians in all went to Moscow from Tashkent].

Note : Md. Faruq (Ashur) was connected in Afghanistan during the war with Indian Revolutionary Association formed by Abdul Rab from Angora and three Indians from Berlin. Under the influence of Suritz he went with 28 others in Tashkent early in 1920. Thence he went to Moscow in August, 1921. On 2nd January, 1922, he made a full statement to Sir B. Robertson at Moscow and handed the copy of a programme dated 15th July, 1920 of the Indian Revolutionary Party.

Mr. & Mrs. Roy lectured occasionally. The Indians were put through a course of about 8 months in history, socialism, political economy, organisation of workers and peasants and aggressions colonial and labour questions.

Fida Ali says that in Moscow they met once or twice the European Indian Revolutionaries Chatto, Khankhoji, Barakatulla, Lohani, Dutt and also Daud from Persia, but had not much to do with them as they were opposed to Roy. The training was directed towards the overthrow of capitalistic governments including that of India where the Indian students were directed

to work, on their return, for the establishment of a Communist Government. An examination was held but the evidence as to this is meagre and unsatisfactory.

They received parting instructions as regards work in India. Mrs. Roy told Feroz Din to take up the organisation of workers and peasants and to keep up a connection with Russia through the Bolshevik consulates at Bandar Abbas, Bushire and Shiraz where the Consul was Tampakoff who had been in-charge of the Indians in 1921. He returned to Moscow and again left about October for Persia to organise a route and try to get into India.

1.(a) S. Usmani wrote to Roy early in March 1922 from Bombay. Roy sent a reply on 21st May 1922 through Mr. Chotani, giving instructions regarding *Vanguard* circulation and exploitation of strikes and peasant movements. Roy wrote again on 27th June, 1922 to a covering address and asked for news of Masud Ali Shah. He referred to disgraceful acts of Usmani, but said that they were giving him another chance.

(b) Usmani and Masud Ali Shah obtained Persian passports from Rothstein at Tehran.

2. Shafiq a runaway student of Peshawar. He joined the Provisional Government of India, Kabul and was sent to Lenin in Moscow in 1920, with a letter. He was appointed Secretary of the Indian Communist Party. He went to India in November 1921 on a false English passport from Holland. He was probably referred to as "S" in a letter of 29th August 1922 from Afghanistan to Roy as trying to betray the writer before A. G. (Afghan Gogernment) and as having joined hand with another party.

Note : Md. Faruq (Ashur) of Abdul Rab's Party said that early in January, 1921 Karakhan tried to persuade both the Communist and non-Communist groups to go to Bukhara and work together. Both groups refused.

This is borne out generally by Abdul Kadir Sahrai who says that the Indians were directed to establish themselves in industrial centres and to work under Shafiq (Peshwari) and Nalini Gupta who were to maintain contact through Muhammad Ali in Kabul and to devise a sea route—Labour Unions were to be affiliated to the Moscow International and to send delegates and students.

Several Committees were to be fromed, Work was to be carried out in the army.

### III SPECIAL DEPARTURES FROM MOSCOW

Habib Ahmad says that at Moscow, Shafiq, Masud Ali Shah, Shaukat Usmani, Mohammed Ali<sup>1</sup> (alias Ahmad Hassan) and Rahamat Ali Zakaria<sup>2</sup> were special favourites of Roy and did not belong to the student party. They went off at different times it was supposed as progaganda agents.

The following movements during the period of training in Moscow are of special interest :—

(1) Shaukat Usmani of Bikanir and Masud Ali Shah were sent to India via Persia. (We know that they reached their destination. Shaukat Usmani is now in India, and writes frequently to Roy, and Masud Ali Shah is again in Russia).

(2) Shafiq Ahmad or Shafiq was sent to India from Europe by sea. Fida Ali states correctly that he had heard from a Russian, named Gopir, that Shafiq had reached Lahore, but fearing arrest had gone to Kabul.

He describes Shafiq as a member of Obeidulla's party and Secretary of the Indian Communists' Committee : greatly relied on by the Bolshevists.

(3) Abdul Aziz, Obeidullah's nephew, returned from Moscow to Kabul on completion of his course.

These men for whose early return to India special attempts or arrangements were made were evidently considered by the Bolsheviki to be the pick of Muhajirs with regard to intelligence and ability. As regards the effect of the Bolshevik training the only evidence of value is that of Abdul Kadir Sahrai. He does not think that any of the Pamir batch are convinced communists, but they intend to join the political movements against the British Government. This applies particularly to Habib Ahmad, Abdul Majid, Rafiq Ahmad and Feroz Din who talked in this way enroute ; also to Master Abdul Hamid who is altogether anti-British.

Sultan and Fida Ali said they wished to live quietly at home.

1. Mohammad Ali returned to Afghanistan after a short stay in Moscow and acted as Roy's Chief representative there. At the end of 1922 he was expelled along with Obeidullah and other seditionists who left for Moscow.

2. Rahmat Ali Zakaria was a 'minister' of the "Provisional Government of India", Kabul. He left Moscow early in 1922, it was thought with the batch of returning muhajirs.

#### IV RETURN TO TASHKENT AND THENCE TO CHITRAL

At Tashkent where they arrived in April 1922, they applied, according to orders, to Goldberg, a Russian officer and friend of Roy, for help and instructions.

They were detained in Tashkent all the summer of 1922, while attempts were being made to get passport or permits to travel through Persia or Afghanistan. These attempts failed and Goldberg eventually in July 1922 sent them off with the Pamir reliefs (the route from Tashkent to Pamirs is about 900 miles or 20 stages) *via* Skobeleff, Gulcha and Murghab, giving Petrovski written instructions. They were divided at Kharog which they reached about the middle of October, into batches of 4, 3 and 3. The first batch (Habib Ahmad, Rafiq Ahmad, Abdul Majid of Lahore and Feroz Din)—were passed on *via* Zebak in Afghan territory by one Mirza Suleiman of Iskashim who helps Bolshevik agents.

This man told the Second batch (Fida Ali, Abdul Kadar and Sultan) that the Zebak route was impossible as the Afghans had heard from travellers that Indians had got through. He therefore sent the second batch to a man called Khurram in Langar who after consulting the local Bolshevik officers sent them to Wakhan and the Baro Ghil Pass with a guide. Each member of the party was provided by the Tashkent foreign office with ten rouble gold pieces.

On arrival at Chitral on 10th November 1922 the first batch appears to have reported themselves to the Secretary to His Highness the Mehtar and to the Assistant Political Agent and to have made false statements.

#### V REMNANTS OF THE PARTY

Of the other members of the group trained at Moscow—  
 Fazal Ilahi Malak }  
 Abdullah of Sialkot } are still in Moscow studying languages  
 Rahmat Ali Zakaria } is still in Moscow (or gone to Persia)

The above three did not wish to return to India.

Master Abdul Hamid Said Raz	}	were left behind in the Pamirs.
Nizam Din—a follower not trained		
(a Quetta deserter)		

Note: From a previous report it appears that in September, 1922 Muhammad Siddique and Muhammad Abbas, students of Roy's Party, were in Moscow.

Fazal Elahi, Malak Abdulla and Abdul waris were the only Indian students at the University then.

From Habib Ahmad's statement it appears that Muhammad (?) Waris was with Barkatullah (probably in Moscow when the party left.)



**1924**

**F.6/IX**

**SUBJECT : ORGANISATION IN INDIA OF AN INDIAN COMMUNIST  
PARTY BY D.I.B. ON THE SUBJECT.**

**P & J(S) 1231/24**

**India Office  
Whitehall, S.W.1  
3rd September, 1924**

*Secret*

My dear Muddiman,

Our Political Department has sent the G. O. I. Foreign Department (between 20th June and 24th July) a series of interesting reports from Moscow about anti-British Propaganda in India. These indicate a serious attempt to launch an Indian Communist Party which Moscow would affect to regard as an independent and spontaneous movement. No doubt the result of the Cawnpore trial will be a discouragement, and it is possible that the "Indian Communist Party" will continue for the present to count chiefly on M. N. Roy and a few other exiles in Europe. But if a social organisation is started in India, however shadowy it may be, its existence will greatly help the 'Indian Communist Party' in Europe, which will be able with more plausibility to represent itself as the overseas branch of a genuine organisation. We should be glad to know what the G. O. I. think of this possible development.

The Hon'ble Sir A. Muddiman,  
C.S.I., C.I.E.  
Home Department  
Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd. M. C. Seton

*\*Original typed letter.*

**Intelligence Bureau  
September 24, 1924.**

Dear Sir Alexander Muddiman,

Your letter of today received this morning. I enclose a

Suggested *draft-B* in a series of notes on the various points raised in Setow's letter.

I hope this will be of use. If you wish to speak to me on the subject, perhaps you will send for me tomorrow morning—I will come to your house, of course, if desired, at any time convenient to you, or to your office.

Yuurs sincerely,  
Sd. C. Kaye,

*\* Original hand written letter*

#### DRAFT 'B'

##### INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The 'Bande Mataram' (Lahore) of September 10 that "an Indian Communist Party has been openly established with branches at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay & Cawnpore. An all India Communist Conference will be held after 3 months."

The prime mover in this appears to be Satya Bhakta originally a 'Communist' in Nagpur, who has now migrated to Cawnpore. He was in correspondence with Dange in February 1923, when he asked for advice (and, by implications for monetary assistance) as to the starting of a labour newspaper; and also with the "Workers Dacadmought" from which he enquired about Communist literature. In May, 1923 he published a pamphlet in Hindi which he called "Proletariat Series No. 1": explaining this method of pushing his idea as being due to "the apathy of the public", who had declined to promise subscription to his newspaper. Apparently the public remained apathetic, for his "Proletariat Series" was not continued. He has since published another pamphlet, in India, entitled, "Indian Communist Party" a copy of which has just reached me: the programme of the Party is to organise agriculturists, labourers and clerks by means of pamphlets and leaflets: when organisation has been completed attempts will be made to capture the Councils: and thereafter, factories, mines, forests, railways etc. will be transferred to popular control: Satya Bhakta has had 500 membership forms printed: and it was reported (September 20th) that he had, as far, obtained five recruits—who included

Dr. Manilal, Gaya, one of the defending counsel at Cawnpore.

A "Defence Association" has been stated at Bombay to collect subscriptions for the appeal to the High Court of the "Bolsheviks" convicted at Cawnpore. Money has not been forthcoming, and the association, though still existing on paper, is not really functioning".

Satya Bhakta and his associates, are men of no weight whatever: and is as certain, as anything can be, that the "Communist Party of India" will be nothing but a name. If the Bolsheviks think it worthwhile to subsidise it, it will put out literature and will obtain a certain number of adherents, out for what they can get from it: there is, at present, no sign of any of the protagonists having been able to obtain money from anywhere. If the Bolsheviks do not subsidise it, it will still born: otherwise it will pass enough existence to swear by—a fact which may embarrass the Home Government in their dealings with Soviet Russia, but will not embarrass the G.O.I. in the least.

\* The above letter is in Kaye's handwriting and in original.

*Secret*

Simla, the 25th  
September, 1924

My dear Seton,

Many thanks for your secret letter No. P & J (S) 1231/24 dated 3rd September, 1924. I think the following may interest you. It is based on Col. Kaye's information and I think is pretty accurate.

An attempt is now being made to launch an "Indian Communist Party" from Cawnpore. Branches are said to have been established at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras: and all-India Communist Conference to be intended to be hold about Christmas. The persons in charge of this attempt are "men of straw", without money or influence. If the Bolsheviks think it worthwhile to subsidise it, it will have a proper existence could be a useful political card for the Soviet Government but could have no effect in India.

Yours sincerely  
Sd. A. Muddiman

To  
Sir Malcom Seton, K.C.B.  
India Office, Whitehall,  
London.

F. 111

**Subject :** LETTER ADDRESSED BY M. N. ROY, A BOLSHIEVICK  
AGENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR PERMISSION  
TO RETURN TO INDIA.

CONFIDENTIAL  
J & P (S) 293

India Office  
London, S.W. 1  
6th March. 1924.

*M. N. Roy*

Dear Sir,

I forward for information, copy of the paper noted in the  
margin, on the subject of the above.  
Letter to the P. M.  
(Copy Secretary of  
State for India dated  
21st February 1924  
from M. N. Roy)

The letter to Secretary of State for  
India was acknowledged.

To  
The Secretary,  
G. O. I. Home Department:

Yours faithfully,  
Sd/- J. E. Ferand.  
Secretary.

Judicial & Public Department

The Right Hon'ble J. Ramsay Macdonald,  
Prime Minister of Great Britain,  
London.

(Copy to the Secretary of State for India)

Right Hon'ble Sir,

The undersigned is an Indian who believes in the right of every people to be free. Since 1905 I participated in the movement whose object is to conquer this rights for the Indian nation. Consequently I had to suffer all sorts of prosecution and persecution at the hand of British Government in India. Finally in 1915 I was obliged to leave my native land, in order to escape extreme penalties of law. Since then, I have lived in forced exiles, which, however, did not render immune from persecution. I have been

persistantly haunted down by the agents of the British Government who do not hesitate to bring pressure upon the authorities of other countries in contravention of the codes and usages of International law giving the right of asylum to political offenders. Nevertheless, I have gone on doing, according to my convictions, my share in the struggle for the freedom of the Indian people.

Being a socialist, I do not subscribe to the programme of Indian nationalism which bases itself simply on the rivalry and antagonism between the native and foreign capital. I hold that India should have an autonomous national government, because without it normal progress and prosperity of her people in general cannot be attained. From this point of view I make common cause with the movement of bourgeois Nationalism. But at the same time I am at the opinion, that the National Government should be made really democratic by giving ample protection to the economic interests of the toiling masses. The common people, however, will have very little political right and economic protection from the National Government if they do not prepare from now to defend their class interests. This can be done only if they will participate in the Nationalist movement not as a mere adjunct of the native bourgeoisie, but as an independent social factor organized and fighting on the basis of their class interests. Our programme places the Nationalist movement, not on the basis of racial issues nor of capitalist antagonism, but on the wider basis of economic interest and social emancipation of the masses of the population.

This programme has brought on me the epithet of "Bolshevik Agent" in addition to other previous accusations. You know how freely this epithet is used by imperialism. The paper published by us as well as anything else written by me or my comrades are branded as "Bolshevik propaganda" and proscribed in India. The circulation, reading and possession of such literature is punishable. This literature is devoted to the propagation of programme whose outlines are given above. I take liberty of sending under separate cover specimens of our publications for you to judge if they contain anything more or less than ordinary nationalist and socialist programme. Literature of similar and much more revolutionary nature is allowed to be published and circulated in Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, not to mention other independent countries. In one

word, socialist literature is prohibited in India. We accepted the situation as natural hitherto; but it is also natural for us to expect that it should be changed under a socialist Government.

Now, Right Honourable Sir, as a socialist and representative of the British proletariat, you must agree that it is no crime to claim the right of self-determination for one's country nor does simple socialist propaganda become "subversive Bolshevik propaganda" as soon as it comes to India. Indian socialists and Indian working class are entitled to have their international affiliation. There are many who are adherents of the British labour party and of the International to which you belong. There may be others who prefer other international working class organisations. It is a mere question of opinion, and today the socialist Movement of no country is free from this difference of opinion. Therefore the fact of my membership of the Communist International cannot reasonably deprive me of the right of living and working in India, when adherents of the same International are not deprived of the identical rights in Great Britain.

The advent of Labour Government in Britain encourages in us the hope that the position will be changed. We expect that those working for the advance and welfare of the Indian working class will not be persecuted under a Labour Regime as before. Therefore I beg you :

1. To cause the ban to be raised from our paper, *The Vanguard*, from books and brochures written by me and other holding identical views as well as all kinds of socialist literature freely circulated in every civilized country; and
2. To give me the permission to return to India without becoming the object of persecution for alleged offences committed in the past. I should draw your attention to the fact that my political views have undergone a radical change since I left India in 1915.

What I solicit is an amnesty from the alleged charges made against me in the past. I suppose the declaration made by his Majesty the King—Emperor in 1919 concerning Indian political offenders can be applicable to me. When I return to India I will of course, be prepared to take the consequences of my action in the future.

I will appreciate it very much if I am given the passport

to come over to England, there to discuss with the India Office the question of my return to India.

Excepting a favourable and early reply.

Zurich, Switzerland  
February 21, 1924.

I remain, etc.  
Sd/- M. N. Roy.

N.B. My lawyer, Dr. C. A. Hitz Bey, Nationalrat, Turnerstr, 19 Zurich has been instructed to receive the reply to this communication in my behalf.

F. 115 PART B DEPOSIT

SUB: REPORT OF SYED MASUD ALI SHAH ON THE BOLSHEVIK  
ACTIVITIES IN INDIA HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

PAGES 1 AND 2 OF ORIGINAL

Report of Syed Masud Ali Shah. Intended journey to India by Sea from Bushire of 3 Russians, Bolshevik Agents.

Letter from the India Office, No. J. & P. (S) 7106/23 dated 13th February, 1923.

For Information. DIB may see also Foreign and Political Department. Later G. S. Branch (General Staff Branch).

Sd/- A. S. Gwyne  
7.3.23.

I apologise for delay in dealing with the letters. We have already received copies of these reports, and I think F & P (Foreign and Political) Department has seen these also. The person named is given his real name throughout: and it is, I think, most unsatisfactory that this should have been done in reports circulated in offices both in England and India. Correspondence recently intercepted shows that this man is suspect, among Roy's followers in India: and I have telegraphed to I.P.I. to say so, in the hope that the man get away before suspicion becomes certainty.

It is not at all impossible that the papers may have assisted to make it so. To avoid doing more harm, in this respect than may have been done already I pass on these papers direct, without putting them through office: and suggest that F & P Department and General Staff Branch may think it well to adopt a similar procedure.

C. Kaye.  
16.3.23.

Colonial Beach (G. S. Branch): So far as this Department are concerned we are quite prepared to keep such I.P.I. reports as all secure direct or see from DIB out office together. Passed to G.S.B.

COL. BEACH

Sd. E. M. Howell

Correspondence of a very secret nature is invariably kept out of office in G. S. Branch.

Sd. Hugh Penfold,  
Captain

M.I.O. (Military Intelligence Office)

Home Department (Mr. Gwynne)

Mr. Mc Dermott will please keep these papers in his safe, when other important papers which are likely to be required for use are left.

Sd. A. S. Gwynne.  
20.3.23.

SUB: REPORT OF SYED MASUD ALI SHAH ON THE  
BOLSHEVIK ACTIVITIES IN INDIA.

J & P (S) 7106/23

India Office  
Whitehall; S. W. 1  
13th February, 1923

*Secret*

Dear Sir,

With reference to the correspondence in the Central Intelligence Bureau, I forward, for information, copy of the papers noted in the margin\* on the subject of the above; in particular the intended journey to India by sea from Bushire of 3 Russian Bolshevik agents.

The Secretary,  
Government of India,  
Home Department.

Yours faithfully,  
Sd. Illegible  
Secretary,  
Judicial & Public Department.

\* Secret despatches from Moscow dated 2.1.23 & 10.1.23.



No. 3

British Commercial Mission,  
Moscow.

January 2nd, 1923.

*Secret*

My Dear Marquess,

With regard to my telegram No. 267 of December 27th, I have the honour to report that the Indian, Syed Masood Ali Shah, gave the following account of his recent movements.

Leaving India in June 1922 he travelled to Russia via Teheran, where he was in touch with Capt. Rankine, and finally arrived in Moscow at the end of July. On the 21st August he left for Berlin, and on the 13th September saw Major Green at Wilhelmstrasse, who referred him to Major Folly (?) through whom he received on the 14th October, a telegram from India remitting one hundred pounds. He came to Moscow for the Congress of the Third International. His instructions in Berlin were to the effect that he would be met by another agent in Moscow and as no one has appeared he wishes to report and to receive further instructions.

He informed me that the Communists expelled from Cabul—a party of 10 in all—arrived in Moscow on the 24th December, travelling via Bokhara. Several of them are proceeding to Berlin for the Indian Congress to be held there, which is to be attended by delegates from Indian Railwayman's Union and from California. My informant Ali Saha, who produced delegate tickets for the Congress of the Third International issued to him under that name, will also proceed to Berlin with Mohr Obaidullah. The name of the Cabul communists are as follows :—

Mohr Obaidullah

Aziz, his nephew

Mohammed Ali

Mohammed Ikbāl Shahidi

Zaffar Hassan—Private Secretary of the C.I.I. in Afghanistan

Zaffar Umar Masoud

Akram—a servant, and two others.

Syed Masood informed me that there were 27 Indians at present in Moscow, 3 of whom were at the Communist University for Workers of the East. Their names are :—

Abdul Warris

Kurban (real name Fazil Elahi)

Safader (real name Abdullah)

As stated in my telegram, under reference Syed Masood had no documents of identity other than those issued to him by the C.I. He travels to and from India illegally, sometimes, I understand, on papers provided by the Communist authorities.

This is not his first visit to Russia, as he was one of those who left India in 1920 in connection with the religious emigration movement in 1920. He was in Tashkent from February to April 1921, at the military school there, and returned to India from Moscow via Persia about the 15th December, 1921.

I am quite unable to check Ali Shah's statement. He gave the identification word "Bellmount" and refers to his relations with Col. Kaye and others, so that the above information may be sufficient to test his story. As regards Indian affairs at the Congress of the Third International he said that little was done. No money was voted, owing to the absence of delegates who are expected to come, and for whose journey from India a sum of 800 pounds have been made available by the International.

I understand that Ali Shah is in possession of some document. As indicated, in my telegram under reference Ali Shah expects soon to have to leave for Berlin, probably about the middle of January.

Ali Shah is apparently well-educated and expresses himself clearly and to the point in excellent English.

I shall be glad to receive instructions as to any further steps which it is desired that I should take in connection with this matter. As indicated, in my telegram under reference, Ali Shah expects soon to have to leave for Berlin, probably about the middle of January.

The Right Hon'ble  
The Marquess Curzon  
of Kedleston, P.C., K.G.  
etc., etc.

I have the honour to be,  
With the highest respect,  
Yours Lordship's most obedient  
humble servant,  
(W.P.)  
(initialled)

No. 17

British Commercial Mission  
Moscow

Secret January 10th, 1922.

My Lord Marquess,

With reference to my confidential despatch no. 3 of the 2nd

instant, regarding the Indian Syed Masood Ali Shah, I have the honour to report that he called out at the mission on the 9th instant to enquire whether I was in a position to communicate instructions. In the meantime I have been informed by the unnumbered telegram of January 4th from Berlin that the facts stated by him on his previous visit were correct, but had received no instructions as to the course which it was desired he should pursue.

Ali Shah informed me that difficulties had arisen in connection with his journey to Berlin. He had been provided with a Persian passport and this the German passport authorities in Moscow declined to visa. When last he had visited Berlin he had travelled as a Russian courier, furnished with a Russian diplomatic passport. Such passports were, however, only issued to Indians if applied for through Roy, who has now written to Ali Shah instructing him that he must either remain in Moscow or proceed to India with a party of propagandists now enroute for that country.

Ali Shah attached considerable importance to his journey to Berlin, as the conference which is to take place there is one of great importance. Safarov, head of the Eastern Section of the Third International is now there, together with Radek and Roy. Certain Indian delegates who have travelled from India on the 800 pounds supplied by the Comintern have either arrived or will shortly arrive. The Conference will not begin without Obaidullah, who is still in Moscow, and whose presence is essential owing to his knowledge of the Afghan frontier organisations. My informant stated that it was intended to engineer a movement in India this summer.

Ali Shah will endeavour to reach Berlin but will desist in his efforts if he finds he is arousing suspicion. In that case he will go to India with the party above referred to. This consists of 3 Russians who have completed courses at the Communist University of the East in Moscow, and speak fluent Persian and Urdu. They left Moscow on January 1st and are at present in Baku, waiting for Ali Shah. They are to take both literature and munitions, and are to travel on Persian passports to India by sea from Bushire. My informant was unable to give me names of the 3 members of the party.

As regards the party of 10 Communists from Afghanistan, Obaidulla will be accompanied to Berlin by 3 others. Five of

them will enter the Communist University of the East in Moscow, the tenth a servant—will return to Bokhara.

As ali Shah had to take his decision at latest today, there was no opportunity for my enquiring by telegraph as to the instructions which it was desired to communicate to him. If he travels to India via Persia he will report to Capt. Rankine at Teharan.

I have the honour to be,  
with the Highest respect My Lord Maruess,  
Yours Lordship's most obedient,  
humble servant  
W. P.  
(initialled)

The Marquess Curzon  
of Kedleston, P.C., K.G.  
etc., etc., etc.

F. 220

Subject : THE COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY FOR WORKERS OF THE  
EAST

P. & J. (S) 757

India Office  
London, S. W. 1.  
29th May, 1924

*Confidential*

Dear Sir,

With reference to Mr. Feraad's letter No. J. & P. (S) 6338 dated 27th September, 1922, I forward for information copies of the papers noted in the margin, on the subject of the above.

Moscow Despatch to  
Foreign Office  
Date : 30th April 1924.

Yours faithfully,  
Sd. J. W. Hose.  
For Secretary,  
Public and Judicial Dept.

The Secretary  
to the Government of India  
Home Department.

\* The above letter is an original typed one.

No. 402

British Mission  
Moscow  
30th April, 1924.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the occasion of the 3rd

anniversary of the Communist University for the Workers of the East which was celebrated in Moscow on April 21st, speeches were made by Enukidze, Clara Zetkin, Trotsky, Radek and others.

2. Enukidze announced that "by degree of the" Central Executive Committee of the Union Government the "Communist University of the East which prepares social" workers for the people of the East who have attained "Freedom or one in the process of obtaining it, now passed under the immediate Control of the Central Executive Committee of the Union Republic."

3. Trotsky, after dwelling upon the world importance of the University, drifted into an abstruse dissertation upon metropolitan and colonial capitalism as exemplified in the British empire, and then concentrated upon his usual theme of your imperfections and those of His Majesty's. "Between you and me" he confided to his audience "the fact MacDonald is so trivial, so conservative and so dense is to a great extent explained by the slow and organic development of capitalist relations in "England in that land of classic capitalism." This audience had a greater advantage over early revolutionaries of having succeeded not only Marx the author of *Capital* but also Lenin the author of the October revolution. Lenin was successful in freeing the teaching of Marx from the MacDonald influence, which at one period of history changed Marxism into the smallest of small change. But thanks to Lenin pure Marxism has been restored and "there is less danger of his audience falling under the influence of "National Democratic ideology." MacDonald is more reactionary than the Turkish nationalists. They have abolished the Caliphate. MacDonald is trying to revive it. Should Europe be retarded by Menshevism, the centre of the world revolutionary movement will be transferred to the East. The putrescent tissues of Islam, which will vanish at the first puff, fails even to realise the importance of the Eastern women, who is to be the great centre of future revolution. The Communist University for the workers of the East directly nurtures the growth of revolutionary consciousness in the East. It must however avoid the danger of acquiring that "Peculiar Eastern arrogance and a Eastern Consciousness," for this is but one step from the nationalistic error. "You are as yet but on the threshold of Marxism, but your advantage is that you are studying its alphabet not in underground groups in your "own

country, but on the soil of U.S.S.R., which is "soaked with terrorism and revolution. The Communist University for the workers of the East will teach you to translate Marxism and passion for the conflict into the tongues of India, China, Turkey, Persia and Korea. Praise, honour and glory for the Communist University of the East."

Typed copy of original letter.

I have, etc.,  
(S) R. N. Hodgson

(N 44 88/250/38)  
No. 457

British Mission,  
Moscow  
16th May, 1924

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of passages from an address delivered by Monsieur Trotsky on May 7th to the academy of the Red Army, and published in the "Izvestiya" on May 9th.

2. Monsieur Trotsky's main points are:—

(i) The "harmonization" of Soviet military training with the prospects of revolution in the West and the East. The thesis of civil war must be thoroughly studied in their application of future revolution in other States and military instructions in the Soviet Union must be so conceived so as to harmonise with the prospects of such revolution.

(ii) Oriental Department of the Academy must produce "Military Orientalists" with a thorough knowledge of at least one Eastern country and the nation by which that country is oppressed. These Orientalists must not study the East *per se*; all the knowledge they acquire must be made subservient to military ends.

3. Leninism must not be taken as "prescription". It is an excellent tonic for the general health but is not a panacea that will cure all and sundry sicknesses.

The Rt. Hon'ble  
James Ramsey MacDonald, P.C.  
etc. etc. etc.

I have, etc.  
(Sd) R. M. Hodgson.

Typed copy of the original letter.

**TRANSLATION OF PASSAGES FROM MONSIEUR TROTSKY'S  
ADDRESS OF MAY 7TH AT THE MILITARY ACADEMY**

"We must study the nature of the epoch and confirm to it. The fundamental requirement for our epoch, as regards the army, is the ability to harmonise war and revolution."

**THE STATUTES OF CIVIL WAR**

Class conflict at a particular stage of its development becomes civil war. In order to direct civil war, properly to participate in it, or to make use of it, it is essential to be acquainted (a) with the laws of class conflict, (b) with the methods of modern warfare. These two great branches of human knowledge, a policy of Marxism and military science, continually intersect and are harmonised together in the art of civil war. The harmonisation of inter-state or inter-nation with war has frequently occurred in history since class society began to exist.

We live in an epoch of the prolonged imperialist death throes of capitalist society. This epoch as a whole will be the epoch of harmonisation of imperialist and civil war. This was proclaimed by Lenin in 1914. The further we progress, the more inter-state wars will become harmonised with civil wars. It must be our tasks to realise this, to anticipate and as far as possible sum up the forms, the methods and the procedure. It is only the Soviet Union that can harmonise its military tasks with the prospects of class conflict in the West and of national and class conflict in the East. The matter can be summed up as follows:—

We are attempting to read something in the nature of the statutes of civil war in order to discover the threads that connect it with our present statutes and particularly in statutes of our field warfare. What do the statutes of civil war mean? The question must be elaborated in this 3 following stages:—

**1. THE PREPARATORY PERIOD**

The general characterisation of the premises of the revolution, without which further progress to civil war becomes a mere blank or a "Putsch". The elements of organisation and technical preparations in close contact with the elements of politics (a) military legions of workers; (b) "germ cells" on the Railways; (d) illegal headquarters for the occupation of centres

of industry, etc. The extent to which centralisation is admissible.

## 2. THE PERIOD OF OPEN CIVIL WAR

Choice of the right moment for attack. Contact between strategy and politics. Plane of operations in connection with the territorial groupings of the population in accordance with these social standing. Development of individual success, continuity of attack etc.

## 3. IMMEDIATE TRANSFER TO REGULAR FORMATIONS AFTER ACCESSION TO POWER

Increased centralisation of military apparatus, the creation of political apparatus, tribunals, repressive corps etc. Activity of expeditioning forces working in all directions from the proletarian centres. Systematic destruction of the active forces of the army etc.

It is especially important to realise and consolidate the differences of the social system in which the processes of civil war occur. The fundamental difference is that of the West and the East i.e., the conflict of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the conflict after national democracy against foreign rule, and the internal groups connected therewith. The harmonisation of armed incursion from without and civil war within. The relative role of these two factors. The necessity of weighing in one's mind the relative roles of incursion from without and internal revolution. The possible mistakes in this connection are:—Semi-pacifist fatalism and army subjectivity.

### THE EASTERN DEPARTMENT OF THE ACADEMY

The Eastern Department of the Academy is of tremendous importance, on condition that it supplies proper preparation for the military workers of the East. What should they know?

1. The languages of the Eastern country in which it is proposed that they should work;

2. The languages of the country of the West which oppressed the given country of the East.

3. They must be able to distinguish class forces and political groupings, i.e., they must be in full possession of the methods of Marxism.

4. They must be capable of transferring the conflict on to military lines and where necessary, directing it. In other words they must have a proper knowledge of one Eastern tongue and Western tongue. They must be Marxists and good military



commanders. Needless to say they must be good revolutionaries.

The history of the country is not compulsory; its geography, economics, politics and military organisation are compulsory. Our diplomatic representatives, our consuls, our military attacks etc. can and must procure all the necessary raw material.

Our military orientalists must be primarily military, and orientalists afterwards; in other words they are military workers employed in the counties of the East.

We can permit no rupture whatsoever with the army. Japanese and Chinese hieroglyphics must be made subservient to the military revolutionary problem. Our military orientalists, as all other students of the Academy must live the inner-life of the Red Army, must take part in its most important exercises, etc.

Knowledge of the country must be as wide as possible but must be subservient to the military problem. The first requirement is to know the map of the country as the arena of future revolution and wars. Teacher of the various types of troupes, and also general tactics, must be adopted to the countries of the East. This is a great task.

We can say with certainty that the relative role of the cavalry in the Western sphere will be incomparably less than during the civil war in our country. On the other hand the role of aviation and chemical warfare will be immeasurably greater.

In the East, on the contrary the role of the cavalry may prove even greater than it was in our civil war. This does not mean that neither aviation nor classical warfare will be required. But in the East both aviation and chemical warfare must conform to a considerable extent to the cavalry. It is clear that those and other general principles in their concrete interpretation and adaptation to the condition of a given country must be the object of the special attention and earnest study of our military orientalists. They must have a good knowledge of the passes and bridges in the East. The fate of Afghanistan will remind us of this. They will pour across the passes and across the bridges, either imperialism crushing everything that remains free in the East or revolution liberating the people's of the East from imperialism.

In saying what I have said I have no intention of deciding the question of the further organisation of the Eastern Department, its harmonisation with severance from the Institute of

Eastern Diplomacy etc. Such measures of organisation are discussed by special inter-departmental commission. But one thing is clear; both the war department and the Republic require a yearly output of good revolutionaries, Marxists, military cadets, and fighters, trained and instructed for the tasks of the East.

Leninism for us is above all a method of political orientation. Leninism sets the direction for all kinds of activity, including military activity. But in setting the direction, Leninism like Marxism which contributes its basis, naturally does not replace the methods and procedure of military affairs, as such Leninism demonstrates the Soviet Political method of approach to military, economic and all other questions, but Leninism is not a prescription which can be used to decide purely military or purely economic questions.

The great danger is to extract from Lenin particular counsels and aphorisms and convert them into abstract principles to be employed in all circumstances and in all spheres. This contradicts the very element of Leninism. Lenin must not be regarded apart from the conditions of development of the sociology and that of Europe and the whole world.

Lenin must not be approached with the question "what can I, as an artillery man, or as an aviator, find useful in Lenin?" The question must be put in this fashion:—"Why in a given instance did Lenin do so and so and direct so and so to be done?" If I understand this my mind is widened. I am enriched not by a mere prescription but by my increased capacity for action under concrete conditions. Such capacity is essential both for the legislator, the economist, the artillery man and the aviator.

Therefore, Learn from your Lenin."

F 261 K.W.I

#### CASE HISTORY OF SINGARAVELU CHETTIAR

*Name :* Mylapore Singaravelu Chettiar

Father (deceased); Caste, fisherman.

*Native Place :* South Beach, Triplicane.

*Residence :* -do-

*Description :* Age about 47; height 5' 6"; dark;  
medium built; short hair; wears moustache;  
front teeth prominent; haggard appearance.

*Education :* B.A., B.L.

**Occupation :** High Court Vakil ; but has suspended practice on account of non-cooperation. President, Madras Mahabodhi Society; President, Mill Workers' Labour Relief Committee; President Hindustan Panchayat; Ex-President Madras City Congress Council; Member, Madras provincial Khilafat Working Committee (1922) ; Member, Tamil Nadu Provincial Committee ; Member, Madras City Congress Working Committee; Member, All-India Congress Committee; and Chief Commandant of Congress city volunteers.

**History :** His father and all his ancestors were fishermen and the family is worth about Rs. 30,000. In the *Hindu* of 24th May he published an open letter to M. K. Gandhi advocating communism and stating that he was one of Gandhi's humble followers in the fight for Swaraj, and that he had suspended his practice from that date. Shortly after he joined the Madras Labour movement. He wrote another letter to the *Hindu* on 3rd August 1921 and said that the Government has failed miserably to protect the weak against the strong, and has brought threats to the suffering instead of solace, and inquired of what use is such a Government. He was a President of the Madras City Congress Council, but resigned in 1922 owing to differences with his colleagues. He was the Chief organiser of the *Hindustan Panchayat* and was elected President and hard Member. He receives copies of all seditious literature published abroad. His country house in Trivandrum was searched for proscribed literature in August 1922, but none was found. Is the head of the Dist. Communist organisation in Madras, the Central Indian office of which is in Bombay. He corresponds with the Berlin Revolutionary Party who directs all operations of the organization and who consider him a capable organizer. Issued a signed pamphlet in which he describes himself as "Indian Communist", at the Indian National Congress, Gaya, entitled, *New Manifesto to Congressmen* based on M. N. Roy's program for the Indian National Congress.

F 261 K.W.I

1. (M. N. Roy) to Singaravelu Chettiar, 22 South Beach, Tripilicane, Madras, dated Moscow, 9.11.22.

Dear Com. Singaravelu,

My long letter of 2 weeks ago must have reached you already—Enclosed herewith is the MS of the Programme I wrote

about, just a few words in sending it to you. We have been very much occupied by the International Congress and therefore you must excuse this short note.

My plan is to have the Programme complete before the Congress at Gaya and struggle for its acceptance there. If we succeed in this, we will have the Congress. If not, we will have to adopt a new line of action, viz, the organisation of a new mass party. But that will come later. I am sending this programme to all those people whose name and addresses were given in my last letter. It will be advisable for all of you to act jointly in the Congress. But I request you to undertake the task of bringing forward the resolution.

It is needless to write you anything by way of explaining this programme. It is quite clear to anyone with a revolutionary vision and sincere desire to see that our movement does not perish. You will notice that the clause on boycott has been struck out after it was put in the Programme. It is done advisedly. We have had long discussions on the question. Our attitude towards the petty bourgeois method of fight (boycott) should be a negative support; that is we will not sabotage it, but will always point out the economic impossibility of it in a country which is dependent upon import in manufactured goods. We will say also that boycott cannot be the weapon of working class strength, since it hits the poor masses before it does the British capitalist. From this point of view we decided to exclude the boycott clause from our Programme.

Printed copy of the Programme will be sent in before the Congress meeting and it will also be published in the special Congress Number of the paper. I am preparing a pamphlet elaborating this programme, which will be published right after the Congress.

Dear Comrade! How I wish to be present at Gaya to join you in the fight to save the Congress. I am doing all that can be done from here and all this is within my capability.

The main part of the struggle lies on you and other Comrades on the spot. Our comrades here were very very interested to hear of you and are anxiously looking for the day when they will have you among them here. The day must come. Our slogan is onward. Tomorrow our 'old man' will show the

world that he is not dead by making his report to the Congress about five years of the Revolution and the 'World Perspective.'

With greetings.

F 261 K.W.I.

P. 76

(M. N. Roy) to Singaravelu Chettiar, dated  
Moscow, 12.11.22

Dear Comrade Singaravelu,

According to the latest news a political labour party will be formed at the 3rd All India Trade Union Congress to be held at Lahore in the last week of December. It is useless to point out the disastrous effect of such a step in our struggle for national liberation which is the problem on whose solution depends the progress of our people in every walk of life. But the project is not unexpected for us. In fact we have been warning our leaders about such a danger. It is a danger because the motion if such a party (inspired by the labour imperialists of England) is to direct the working class of India into the blind alley of reformism and to deprive the national movement of its dynamic force. Their new development makes it doubly imperative for the Congress to mend its ways. So we must put the issue squarely at Gaya, either the Congress should adopt such a programme calculated to attract the working class under its banner, or run the risk of losing the backing of the masses.

We have in India to-day a similar situation that followed the great Chartist movement in England. The great revolutionary upheaval of the young British proletariat was directed into the wrong channel of liberal labour policies which eventually gave rise to the labour party, a useful handmaid of capitalism and imperialism. Now Col. Wedgewood Benn, Spoor, etc. through their friends, fellows like Joseph Baptista, Chaman Lal, etc. are endeavouring to tie the Indian masses to the chariot of Labourism of the British type.

If they succeed in their sinister design the movement for national Liberation will be practically killed for some time to come. By these Bardoli resolutions the Congress has broken the heart of the poor peasantry. The projected labour party will contend for the leadership of the city workers. It will hold out the things that are needed and understood by the ignorant hungry workers. It will fight for the recognition of Unionism, the 8 hour pay, minimum wages, etc. Thus the Congress will

be left without any dynamic following and the National movement cannot be carried very far with the lawyers, students and small traders. This ominous picture must be graphically held out before the Congress at Gaya and our programme should be pressed forward as the only remedy which can save the Congress. It is too late for us here to write a Manifesto about the labour party but I think you will give this question the proper interpretations at Gaya. As soon as the resolutions and the programme of the labour party are available we will mercilessly expose its sinister designs. But there must be an organisation of our own to capture the ground threatened by the labour party. Either the Congress must revolutionise its outlook and be a revolutionary organisation or a new party must be found with a programme in accordance with the needs and desires of the majority of the people with a revolutionary objective.

I am afraid that to revive the Congress is an almost hopeless task. It appears to be politically dead. Its future will be judged by its capability of mending its way at Gaya. Therefore we must prepare for the organisation of a new party to assume the lost leadership of the Congress. Our most important task is to prevent the masses from leaving the political struggle and sinking into a narrow economic movement which the labour party will inaugurate.

We must have a preliminary conference of those who understand the necessity of new mass party. I would be much pleased to receive your suggestions about the ways and means of holding such a preliminary conference. How is E. L. Ayyar? The last issue of his paper is very much improved. Can you induce him to take a trip to Europe? All his expenses will be paid. I propose a small conference in Europe in the beginning of the new year. Think over this matter and let us have your opinion and look out for the most suitable element. The financial side of the thing will be taken care of from here. We would like to have you in such a conference.

The International Congress is still going on and will last another 3 weeks. It is very interesting and we are much occupied. It is fine to feel oneself a part of the biggest force in the world, a force that is making history. I solve the problem of India through this big world standpoint, so am very optimistic.

With greetings.

M. N. Roy.

F 261 K.W.I.

P. 78

*Copy of a letter dated 28.11.22 from Singaravelu Chettiar to Roy, sent to Govt. under 1498/c/S.F.416, dated 7.12.22.*

After anxiously waiting for your information I have the good luck to get your from Moscow. By this time the 5th World Congress of Communists would have been over without India being represented. That is our penalty of having suffered our slavery to injure so long. If we cannot get a passport to Germany, nay even to England, then imagine our plight! Perhaps not in this generation can we dream of Swaraj. The bourgeois clever foot has become evident as you anticipated. The C. D. Committee was a mere make belief for their future, and instead of openly acknowledging, they simply make a white-wash of the non-cooperation movement. Now, we, Congressmen and non-cooperators have come to the cross roads, and we are preparing for the Surat Congress at Gaya. There, the Great Tilak was the master, but at Gaya who is to lead. I am going to declare this war in our own camp, in the coming conference at South Arcot on the 22nd December, 1922.

*Your little book* is admirable. I wish our Congressmen read it, each and every one of them. To us who have been following your articles in the *Vanguard*, etc., the book's contents are familiar, but the closing pages are simply enchanting. I anticipate very soon, even this little brochure on Indian problem, may be proscribed like the other publications of yours. But your ideas are with us, indestructible and imperishable and they will fructify in time.

*Our friends* the comrades whom you mention are not known to me. I am a recruit in politics and likely to be known to them. However, I shall write to them and ascertain their views. I am preparing a New Manifesto embodying your ideas and mine and shall issue it as soon as my press is ready. My *Non-Cooperator*, a bi-monthly, could not appear in November for, no one would print it. My name after the memorable search for Bolshevik literature has become a terror, or may I say a Scare-crow!

OUR LABOUR COLLEAGUES IN THE CITY: Our Labour Leaders are not men of resource nor knowledge. Our E. L. is a funky and his *Swadharma* is a piece of advertisement sheet. When compared to some of the English Labour Weeklys,

*Swadharma* is nowhere. Asking about his going to Moscow, he simply trembles! As for Chakkarai Chetti, another colleague of ours, is a fat man but sincere, though he is a frog in a well. The last but foremost is our Nalayan Midaram, who worked with Wadia, but he is devoid of organising power and a coward. It is with these strange folk, our lot is cast. And to make things worse, I am the youngest in politics and in "labour"! Just imagine that the Madras city labour over 20,000 is managed by these men and there is not a single union in the city in working order. And when I write that the Congress should re-organise them and affiliate them to it, people shrug their shoulders! Comrade, you may now realise how hopeless our struggle is! And yet we hope, and hope till we are called to sleep eternal.

ONLY ONE: This is one Thirumala Char who nearly lost 3 lakhs in his pioneer attempt in Swadeshi Steamship Co. at Tuticorin, and you may know his brothers are from Pondicherry but he is a poor man though his mind is strong.

I am now trying to set up a printing press of my own, but I am afraid it may be short-lived, so uncertain is our liberty of the press.

*My plan* to make a small party in the Congress with a compact programme is as follows :—

The Congress is to meet 3 times a year with 1,000 delegates.

The W.C., a full time committee, in actual work every day.

The W.C. to have portfolios and the members to be paid.

The Head of the Congress Administration to be also a working Member and (not?) usually a figure head.

1. To be in charge of the general superintendence of the administration of the whole with the help of the chief members.
2. Immediate object is the winning of Swaraj.
3. Method is non-cooperation.
4. Labour organised and unorganised to be affiliated to the Congress.
5. Labour to be trained for a National strike.
6. Training of volunteers for propaganda purposes and for civil disobedience.
7. To raise a loan payable after Swaraj but the interest payable from T.S. fund, to meet expenses of the campaign.



8. To concentrate upon paralysing the Bureaucracy wherever possible and that and that alone.
9. To have a call upon the student population to enlist as volunteers.
10. Add to this boycott of British goods through precept and example as well as recommending people to wear hand-woven cloth in preference to either mill made or foreign made.

Thus the main Congress activity to be non-cooperation as programme, strikes, hartals, non-payment of taxes wherever feasible, as tactics and Swaraj, and nothing less than that as goal. I have explained all these in my evidence before the D. C. Committee in August 1922, but would the Congress agree? We shall try.

F 261 K.W.I.

P. 81

*Copy of a letter dated 6-1-23 from M. N. Roy  
to M. Singaravelu Chettiar.*

Your letter dated December 12 was received in due time. Since writing that letter you must have had some interesting experience at Gaya where non-cooperation as a political movement has received a ceremonial funeral. I am anxiously waiting from you containing the details of what took place at Gaya. So far but fragmentary telegraphic reports have reached here. Judging from them the Congress has precisely met the same fate as we have been predicting during the last 12 months. Marxism is a wonderful thing, is it not? It has made of history such an exact science. I wonder how long it will take before this modern revolutionary method of thinking is introduced in our movement. I must, however, leave the general political topics alone in this letter which concerned some practical questions. You will find our opinion of the Congress after Gaya in the A.G. and later on I will write you extensively on the question.

I am afraid you dismissed my proposal for the conference here too lightly. Perhaps I failed to make it clear to you that the Congress had been decided upon by men bigger than me and who are very anxious to find the best ways of helping the struggle you and others like you are carrying on against great odds. You agree with my idea of forming a new party, but argue that we have still to do the preparatory work. You are

perfectly right. And if precisely for this purpose, for the purpose of discussing methods and means of the preparatory work that the Conference is needed. We need a press of our own; but before that it is necessary to determine upon the political question concerning the new party for which the press is needed. You can imagine how difficult it is to discuss and decide these grave political questions by correspondence of which security is never guaranteed. Then, I suppose you do not underestimate the value of holding counsel with the leaders of world revolution about the movement in India. Let me tell you that we are entirely in agreement with your plan of setting up a press, and will do every thing to help it, but we do hold it very important that those few in India recognising the necessity of a new party not on old conventional lines, but on a new political principle and upon a revolutionary social basis, must have a Conference in order to decide about the programme and tactics of the new party. Far from thinking with you that it is "useless," we on the contrary, believe it to be a vital thing. It is also true that we have no following in the country; but we must secure it. The forces of national revolution are to day scattered in confusion. We propose to really them in a new party. Therefore, it is not that we have to manufacture a following. We will simply have to hoist a flag which will appeal to the imagination of those objectively revolutionary forces which could not be understood by our religious non-cooperators, nor by the rational extremists of the "pro-change" party. So we hold that objectively our party has a following. As Marxians we must say: "Had there not been a social element for such a party there would be no idea of forming it. So you need not feel diffident in coming to a Conference because, you do not represent such a motly crew as a non-cooperating Congress. You and those who think like you are the real representatives of an Indian people and alone have the right to speak on behalf of them. Now as to the technical difficulty against holding such a conference you are also right. But these difficulties must be overcome and the means of overcoming them will be found if we are convinced that to hold this conference is essential for the future of our movement. I have seen delegates attend secret international Conferences held under extremely difficult circumstances. We have had in the communist International Congresses delegates from all the East European countries except India. It was not

any easier for these delegates to come to Moscow. But they managed to come because they believed it was necessary. Of course, so long as there are not in India people with the same belief our Conference cannot be held. The question of paying for your or any other desirable delegates' passage is of secondary importance. But the method you suggest is impracticable. How can I buy a return passage from this end? Then it is dangerous to buy ticket from Thos. Cook which is a detective Agency of the British Imperialism. We must find some other way. Please suggest some way by which the money can be sent. I will advise you to consult Dange on the matter.

I must revert to the political aspect of the conference. We are agreed on the necessity of forming a new party. What is the first step to be taken in this direction. The programme of this party. I have already published the outline of programme with certain important clauses of which you do not agree. Is it not sufficient reason for a Conference in order to discuss the programme of our party? We cannot come to any satisfactory understanding by correspondence. But let us try pending the Conference.

You take exception to the "abolition of landlordism" and "agitation" against bourgeoisie. Your reasons are just those that forced Gandhi to call for the shameful retreat at Bardoli. He was faced with the problem of choosing between the financial aid of the landlord and capitalists on the one hand and the revolutionary energy of the masses on the other. The Bombay merchants and mill-owners would not pay their promised contribution to Tilak Swaraj Fund if the Congress supported the strikers and demonstrations of the workers; the reactionary middle class was so closely tied to the apron strings of the feudal lords of Oudh that it would rather see the great non-cooperation movement degenerate into a prayer association and spinning guild than to brook the revolutionary agrarian upheaval threatening the security of landlordism. Hence the betrayal by the Congress of the great mass movement that culminated in the demonstrations in Bombay and the United Provinces. These revolutionary actions of the masses were denounced as "hooliganism" in the name of non-violence. Best, what was the social reason beyond this thing of non-violence? Was it not the anxiety for the vested interests of the native upper class and the apprehension of losing the problematical support of the rich? By stoutly denouncing the

revolt of the exploited peasantry and reassuring the holy rights of the feudal lords the Congress killed a great mass movement but can you say that by this reprehensible tactics the landlords of Oudh have been made any more patriotic? Or shall I ask any less loyal and reactionary? The recent controversy on the recent District Board Bill should have given us a lesson. And above this financial support of the capitalists. The way in which attempts were made to manipulate the entire Swaraj fund for profiteering in Khaddar proves the real character of the patriotism of the merchants and manufacturers. No, my dear comrade, it is a mistake to put the interests of the upper classes in the first place in the struggle for national liberation. If we sacrifice the dynamic forces of mass action in favour of the financial support we will record innumerable Bardolis. It speaks very badly of our revolutionary outlook if we have not learned to recognise which is the backbone of our movement. I do not say that we should fail to enlist the services of all the possible elements in our movement. We must not lose the sense of proportion. The social character of our movement is bourgeois. Therefore the middle classes will play an important part in it. But owing to the abnormal development of our history (British conquest) India bourgeoisie does not today possess the same revolutionary significance as did its prototype in Europe in the middle of last century. Therefore Indian revolution will not be successful as a purely bourgeois revolution. Our bourgeois is too under-developed, too weak, too timid to lead a revolutionary struggle. They must be aided by some other social force more revolutionary. Therefore the programme of a revolution cannot be confined to the limits of bourgeois interests.

Then look to the question from an historical point of view. What will the national independence of India mean? The victory of the Indian bourgeoisie. As Marxians we cannot but laugh at the revivalist theory of those who believe that India is a special creation of God. The triumph of the bourgeoisie means the disruption of feudalism, because the latter is detrimental to capitalist mode of production. Therefore the programme of national independence objectively found the death knell of landlordism. Why should we not have the courage to explain this programme in such a simple language as will be within the understanding of the poor peasantry and make the national struggle of vital issue for them? Are we less revolu-

tionary than the heroes of the Liberal League? Even thus clarifying socio-economic affiliation, and look up the tussle going on in the U. P. Council. If the Ministerial Liberals will not break away from their feudal relations they will ere long forfeit that title to lead the big bourgeoisie. The rise of the Independent Nationalist Party in Bengal is a sign of the time. Have you noticed the programme of this new political party of the liberal bourgeoisie (led by Surendranath Banerjee who has no landed interest) includes "abolition of landlordism" and many other "welfare" clauses in our programme which seems to have terrified you? It is not a Communist Programme that I have drafted. It is a simple democratic document adopted to our special circumstances. We must dismiss the hope of securing help of the landed aristocracy. The bourgeoisie must be with the National movement. They cannot leave it. Nor can they fight alone. They must have a support, so we must enter the struggle with consciousness and not as appendage of the bourgeoisie. More on this question latter.

I draw a lesson from this : It is the necessity of a Conference before the organisation of the Party can be started. We must come to an agreement among ourselves first of all. Besides the Mss. you sent, we have seen your manifesto published in the *Hindu*. It is very good. We will publish parts of it in the *Vanguard*. We will be very glad if you send some article from time to time. They can be published pseudo name. Your information about our labour leaders specially those running the T. U. C. show are very helpful. The British Labour party is extending its harmful influence through men like Chaman Lal and Baptista. We are fighting against it. The projected labour party will be a great danger. We must take the field as soon as possible in order to frustrate their danger to divide the working class in a futile economic fight.

With greetings.

F. 261 K.W.I.

P. 88

*Copy of a letter dated 29.2.23 from S. A. Dange,  
Bombay, to Singaravelu Chettiar, Madras.*

"Your letter to hand. I know perfectly well, the All-India Labour Committee would do nothing in the matter of organisation. However, we must proceed. I want you to do

one thing. Let a circular be sent round proposing to coopt me on the committee. Take votes by letters. Then move that I should be appointed as a joint secretary. Unless this much is done I cannot force the hands of the AICC in the matter, for without being on the committee I am powerless. Dr. Sathaye will support my co-option. Halder I think will not object. Please do this soon.

You perhaps know that Roy wants to hold Conference of Indian Communists in Berlin. I think it is a mad venture for Indians to go hunting communism in European conferences. Whatever has to be done, must be done in India. Moreover, there must be less talk of revolution than what Roy indulges in, even when the preliminary rights of labour are not obtained, it is a dream to take of proletarian revolution. You might differ but that is my view.

Do you ever mean to come over to Bombay?

F 261. K.W.I.

P. 90

*Copy of a letter dated 3.2.23 from Singaravelu  
Chettiar to Dange.*

"Yours of the 29th. Glad you have, after all written to me. I do not know what transpired in the Working Committee at Bombay about the meeting of the Labour Sub-Committee. I have written to the members as early as the 5th January last, to meet at Bombay on the 27th and this was at the instance of one or two members (?) But none have replied except Dr. Sathaye. I do not see what to do. I have written to the General Secretary now at Bombay, to fix the place and time of the Labour Committee's meeting, and I have sent a reminder to Patna also, but to no avail. Perhaps I may receive official information about the appointment of a Secretary and other matters and after knowing how the matter stands, I may move in the matter of your request—or suggestion. It is only when the Sub-Committee meets that I have a view to go to Bombay.

As for Roy's project, I do not know, for since I left for Gaya, I have not been receiving any communication whether through the Press or otherwise. Even the Press correspondence I do not get. Well, we shall go on as best we can in propagating communism among the masses. Who are the Indian Communists, has many of them, who are prepared to go to Berlin.

when Germany is on the throes of starvation! There is a good deal to be done here before one thinks of a Congress. But let him go on if he has resources enough, but it is absolutely impossible to cross our shores at the present. You know an Official Secrets Bill with its provisions against foreign correspondence however innocent. When that is the case why think of the Berlin Conference. Where are the books I wanted?

P. 91

*Copy of a letter dated 9.2.23 from Usmani to Singaravelu*

I have been directed by Com. Roy to be in connection with you and it is a long time. When I get assurance of this letter's reaching you, shall write in detail.

If you have not already known it, let me inform you that Abani Mukharji has been expelled from our party by the order of the Comintern. Do not trust him please. So far as I have learnt he has spread nuisance here. All the time he did mischief there and is continuing the same here. He is striving for leadership. Aye!

A donkey can be the leader of a meeting (in persian).

So far as my surveyance of the world situation goes I think this is the ripe time "for striking the final blow" in India.

With respects and greetings.

P.S. Write me through :—

\* Basir Ahmad Ansari

QH/11 Hindu University, Benares.

Inside 'for Laiq'

\* Kanwar Behari Lal erased.

F 261 K.W. 1

P. 94

*Copy of a letter dated 24.3.23 from Singaravelu to Dange.*

Many thanks for your *Socialist*. I have not heard from you for a long time. As few of us here have been busy in discussing Manilal's Manifesto regarding the formation of an independent Labour Kisan Party, forming a section of the Congress. I understand that a copy of which was sent to you.

I wired to you yesterday requesting you to come over here on the 30th instant when we mean to inaugurate our party. We shall be happy to receive you here and cooperate with you in forming our party.

Please don't fail to come.

F. 261 K.W. 1.

P. 95

*Copy of a letter dated 31.3.23 from Singaravelu to Dange.*

I should like to know why you people did not have the courtesy to acknowledge receipt of my telegram inviting you for a conference on Manilal's manifesto as well as my letters and telegrams intercepted by any one? I am sorry in either case. What do you intend doing? You have read the manifesto. A word or two in reply will oblige.

F 261 K.W. 1

P. 97

*Copy of a letter dated 13.4.23 from Dange to Singaravelu.*

All your letters to hand duly. But I could not reply as I am a little pre-occupied with affairs here and moreover I am not well, suffering from fever, and a swelling of the left hand, which had to be operated upon.

I read the Manifesto. It is too faulty and I have written to Dr. Manilal about the many changes that I want in it. I hope Charlu will see the letter, write to you about it. You know Charlu and all his business? I don't know to what Labour Congress Manifesto you refer to. Suppose, we call the first sessions of an all-India Socialist Labour Congress? Sometime, we must hold such a Congress. We cannot depend upon the All-India Congress or the All-India Trade Union Congress. Though we will try to capture them. Let me know your group's views about this suggestion,

I am getting my amendments to our Manifesto typed and will give you a copy of it, was the conference that you called a very small committee or a full party conference?

Excepting a reply.

P.S. Please write to the following men, mentioning my name about the Peasants' and Workers' Party and requesting them to be members, if you have not already done so.

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mukunda Lal Sircar,    | Gujjar Gate inside Mochi |
| 72, Canning Street,       | Gate, Lahore.            |
| 2. Hemanta Kr. Sircar,    | 4. Muzaffar Ahmed,       |
| C/o. Indian Book Club,    | C/o. A. Halim,           |
| College Square, Calcutta. | 3, Gumghar Lane,         |
| 3. Shamsuddin Hassan,     | P.O. Dharamtola,         |
| C/o. Haidar Ali Mallick,  | Calcutta.                |



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 5. A. S. M. Abdul Haq,<br>Anderkilla, Chittagong.  | Saraswati Library,<br>Calcutta.  |
| 6. B. N. Sinha,<br>Kashipur Street,<br>Samastipur. | 8. Pitambardatta Barthwal,<br>C/o. Dr. M. N. Jhaplyal,<br>"Premkutir" Jaiherikhal, |
| 7. Manoranjan Gupta,                               | Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P.   |

F. 261 K. W. 1

P. 98

*Copy of a letter dated 3.5.23 from S. D. Hassan  
to Singaravelu Chettiar.*

You do not know me, but I know you—I am a man who started a daily communist paper in India in 1922, which is being published now monthly by Com. Ghulam Hussain. In December last a long letter of yours was translated by me in the bi-weekly *Inqilab*.

I have received a letter from Dange, in which he has asked me to write you a letter in connection with the future programme. I have seen your letter of 27th ultimo addressed to Com. Hussain and pleased to learn about your Magna Charter. We did not receive your Manifesto up till now. A printed circular letter signed by me and Com. Hussain has been posted to you yesterday. Hope you will agree to our proposal—we want to settle, for the men and money. Dange has suggested a name for the party viz : "All India Congress of Socialist Labour" but I do not understand the necessity of giving a name of "All India Congress" to our party. The Swaraj Socialist Party is sufficient for us. There is a scope to capture the AITUC and if we may try to capture if we can do so easily. Please let me know your idea and notion.

Yours affectionately,

N.B. Your Congress speech has just been published in V.G. of 15th ultimo. Have you seen it?

F 261 K.W. 1

P. 99

*Copy of a letter dated 5.5.23 from Singaravelu  
to Ghulam Hussain*

I am surprised to find that you are issuing a Manifesto asking some of us to meet at Lucknow on the 30th of next month to consider what you call Manilal's Manifesto. The manifesto was on draft manifesto, originally framed by us sometime in

February last and it was put in circulation among a few of us through Manilal. Since then we have redrafted and rendered the Manifesto more complete and sent to you a wire in March asking you to go over there and establish our party on the basis of our programme. None of you hurried up, but all of you including Manilal wrote to us that you will agree to whatever we do in the matter. Upon that assurance, we finally redrafted the whole thing and published it and sent to you a copy of it on the 26th April 1923. Our Comrade Singaravelu has also written to you a separate covering letter. And we have also sent to you a circular enclosing a Party Card which would give the necessary information how to proceed further. By this time you would have seen in any of the Northern papers of the celebration of May Day and inauguration of our party on that date. Thus you will see that our organisation is complete on the basis of our party programme which you by mistake call Manilal's Manifesto.

I do not think that it is now opportune to call our comrades in the various provinces for a meeting at Lucknow to form a party on our Party Programme which has already been established on the 1st of May. The only thing that at present is to work up our party in your province under the rules which the Central Committee has framed and which will be sent to you in a day or two. It is sheer waste of time and energy to keep on considering about the formation of a Party for labour, when after due consideration, one has been formed here at Madras. You will see from our communication of the 3rd instant that our party programme is a flexible one which all have to work as best we can till we can show that we are sufficiently strong in numbers so as to hold a Congress of our party at the end of this year.

I will not want our party to have any sort of connection or cooperation with the bourgeoisie or semi-bourgeoisie. Let us go among the *bonafide* workers and educate them as to our Party's aim and programme and make them members of our party. Therefore, we have requested our comrades in some of the provinces to start work on the basis of our Party's programme. (1) English members, (2) collection of party's funds. Without party fund to defray our travelling expenses, it is not possible for us to attend these far off conferences. If one should attend at his own expense he can only be a bourgeoisie and not a bonafide worker. And therefore, let us begin work as outlined in our official circular.

We are sending by this evening mail our manifesto together with our Party Card to each one of those whom you have mentioned in your circular and we are sending them also a request to become members of our Party and begin work in terms of our circular. I think you will agree with us that a Central organisation as constituted in Madras is a provisional necessity and it should be worked till we are sufficiently strong to call for a Conference of all the workers, and meanwhile let us begin work, as we are carrying out in our province here.

P.S. You may circulate this letter to all our Comrades in other provinces and request them to accept our programme and to begin work among the *bonafide* workers.

I have also written you a covering letter to-day.

F 261. K. W. 1

P. 103

*Copy of a letter dated 7.5.23 from M. N. Roy to the Manager Hindustan Press, Fort, Bombay, containing a letter for S. A. Dange, sent to C. S. under No. 834/C/S.F 416-2 dated 8.7.23.*

Yours of 6.4.23 received, together with circular. The latter is a good idea and worth helping. We have not received, however, your paper for two months. Only the first issue as a monthly came, two copies, one to Leipzig, the other here. Have you sent anything also to Leipzig? Don't do so henceforth. The address you have for letters is good, and literature can be sent to Pall. You can also write private affairs to the address A. J. Brandsteder Ruyschstraat 10 Amsterdam, Holland, inside envelop M. N. Roy. This will reach us. We shall be glad to have a series of addresses from you for the same purpose. Also as mentioned previously, the name of some responsible party who will receive and turn over subscriptions.

We have received a project for the organisation of a legal mass party from M. Singaravelu, and it appears some progress has been made in the right direction. This manifesto must have been published by this time but we have not as yet received it. Judging from the outlines sent by letter it seems to be quite good. He wrote that in accordance with our suggestions, he insisted several comrades including yourself to come together in a preliminary conference in order to discuss the projected Manifesto and begin the organisation of a party, but complained

that nobody turned up. He has reason to be distressed. But he is a fine old man and is going ahead alone but is terribly handicapped for love of good writers, of whom as you know there are very few in India till now. It is therefore all the more urgent that the few good comrades we have should get together and work in coordination.

I think you know my views on the necessity of organising a mass party, and yourself understand the necessity of it. You write that you have paralysed the Congress organisation in the District and expect to capture it. That is good, but your efforts should not be confined to one district alone. We must organise on a country-wide basis, with our own party and programme, though functioning in the Congress like the rest. The programme is already formulated; it may be necessary to modify it in some details, but the general outlines are there. Much propaganda has to be made on the same lines. As far as my information goes, there are good elements scattered all over the country, and these should be gathered together into our Central Organising Committee. To this end, I request you very urgently to get in touch with Singaravelu without delay and try to convene the preliminary conference to which, beside our own comrades such men as Sampurnananda of Benares, Manilal of Gaya, the Editor of *Vartaman* of Cawnpur, etc. can be invited. I would also suggest Upendra Nath Banerji of the *Patrika*. Of course before calling the conference formally, yourself, Hussain and Singaravelu should meet together and plan out the whole question as it should be brought before the conference. We must insist upon our minimum programme as drafted for the Gaya Congress be adopted by the new party with the least possible modification. The idea is to have the political control of the legal party in the hands of the Communist Party. As far as possible, the office bearers and leaders of the legal party should be members of the C. P.

A few remarks about Singaravelu. I was convinced he was the best man available to be the figurehead of the legal party. He is very energetic and possesses a very splendid spirit which more than makes up for his possible shortcomings in the way of theoretical understanding. He provides us with an access into the ranks of the Congress which is very valuable. Through him we can lay our hands on the Labour Sub-Committee, which otherwise will soon die off and Chamanlal will make off with the 40,000. Therefore it is very urgent that you come in close touch

with Singaravelu and work together for the organisation of the legal party. By associating with him inside an organisation you will be able to control his ideological weaknesses.

Other efforts are being made to organise a Workers' and Peasants' party. If we do not hurry up, we will be faced with an accomplished fact, in the shape of a so called workers' Party under very questionable leadership. For example, several rivals of Chamanlal are busy in this direction. Our policy should be to discover the good elements and absorb them within our group. I am sure there are good people among them. For instance, Manilal is connected with such an attempt made by a spurious group which has lately issued a manifesto over the signature of "The Textile Workers of India and the Kishans of Northern India." There is no such organisation in existence as far as I know, but it represents the efforts of a few careerists trying to carve out a way for themselves. A copy of the manifesto has been received here, and it is a piece of plagiarism. The name, constitution and social clauses are taken from the plan of Singaravelu, and the programme is taken bodily from our provisional programme issued in 1920 and from the draft sent to the Gaya Congress. The remaining parts of the Manifesto are full of stupid schemes and mean slanders. Abani Mukherji, who formerly worked with us is the moving spirit behind this spurious group. I have already warned you against him. He has been expelled from the International as well as from our Party. He is a questionable and dangerous character.

Our party press must be organised. This question should also be discussed jointly. I will wait for a report on this question after it has been discussed by at least 3 of you together. Hussain, Singaravelu and yourself. It is very hard for us to do anything in a centralised manner from here, if small presses are isolated in different provinces working independently of one another. Our means are also limited. We can accomplish more in every way by centralisation of efforts. Then with one or two printing presses, at least one English Weekly and one Hindustani monthly can be published and gradually a Bengali Weekly can be added. Unless the three of you act as an Organising Committee which can be collectively responsible for our entire activities, nothing big will come out of our work. You are at liberty to secure the collaboration of other Comrades known to you, but the pioneers must be our men and party members

working according to a centralised plan which embraces the whole of India, though each may work in his own province.

To do this our connections must be improved. You can safely write to us by the several addresses I have given. We would like to have regular reports about your work and organisation of the party, as well as about the Congress. We learn from a Comrade in Bengal that you turned all his letters over to the Police. Of course, it is difficult to discriminate between spies and our own men, but we should make sure before acting so drastically. We requested him to communicate with you at Gaya. All that is necessary is to make such persons produce identification, in the shape of a mandate or letter from me. We must learn to build both a legal and illegal apparatus at the same time.

Hoping to hear from you soon, with the information and addresses requested.

F. 261 K. W. 1

P. 163

M. P. S. VELAYUDHAM PILLAI

A short history of him appears at p. 44 Madras, classified list, vol. 1, 1923.

He first came to notice in December 1922 when he wrote to the *Socialist*. Bombay (No. 19 dated 9th December, 1922) advocating "Bolshevism" as a means of attaining *Swaraj*. (Copy attached No. 1).

On 25th December 1922 he wrote to Dange and sent 2 newspaper cuttings for publication in *Socialist* (copy attached No. 2).

In the *Navayug* of 14th January 1923, a letter written by him appears in which he advocated the principles of communism, i.e. equal distribution of wealth, the enlightening of the masses and the removal of untouchability (Attached in Original No. 3).

In his letter to Dange dated the 2nd March 1923, he admits that he and M. S. Chetti are the communist workers in Madras—(vide Note 356-C, dated 9th March 1923). Copy attached No. 4A.

His signature appears on the printed English Manifesto, 1st May 1923, to the Labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan, and he signed himself an "Indian Communist." The Tamil copy of the Manifesto also bears his signature (Vide 653-C, dated 27th April 1923).

On the 1st May 1923 at a meeting held on the Triplicane Beach under the auspices of the Labour and Kisan Party, Velayudham read portions of the Manifesto in Tamil—vide paragraph 342, 1923 Abstracts.

Abani Mukherji, who passed himself off under the name of Ganga Prasad, while he was in Madras, in March 1923, stayed with Velayudham, and also left with him to be sent on to Germany when Mukherji returned there, a Communist Membership card and also his (Mukherji's) letter of introduction signed by Muhammad Barkatullah and B. N. Dutta, chairman and secretary respectively of the Indian section of the International Workers' Relief Committee for the starving Russians, dated Berlin the 13th October 1922—Photographic copies on record. (Vide note 859-C/S.F 347-1, dated 13th June 1923) Copy attached No. 4 B

Not to be used in evidence. Source of information private.

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P. 166

**Name :** M. P. S. Velayudam Pillai

S/o Sundaram Pillai; Caste, Vellala

**Native Place :** Padalayarkulam,  
Nanguneri Taluk, Tinnevely Dist.

**Residence :** Linghi Chetti Street,  
George Town, Madras.

**Description :** Age 23, height 5' 4";  
medium built; dark complexion;  
wears spectacles.

**Education :** School final

**Occupation :** Nil.

**History :** He studied for a time in Junior Intermediate class, at the Hindu College, Tinnevely, and then took to contributing articles to the Madras papers about the local and municipal administration of his district. He is a close friend of Dr. Manilal, Bar-at-law, who was deputed from Fizi islands. He has been a correspondent of the extremist paper *Socialist* (Bombay) since September 1922. He is inclined towards communism and will probably develop into an agitator later on. An admirer of M. N. Roy of Berlin. He was an advertisement clerk in the *Swadeshmitram* office but has since resigned.

F 261 K.W. 1

P. 174

*Copy of a report dated 12.6.23 from an officer of this department, sent to Government under No. 859/C/S.F. 347-1, dated 13.6.23. Regarding Ganga Prasad alias Mellon.*

With reference to my verbal report yesterday that Ganga Prasad or Charlu or Mellon is Abani Nath Mukherji, and that he was about to leave Calcutta by a German boat, I have been able to obtain the further particulars :—

Mukherji sailed from Hamburg by the German Steamer "*Warteenfels*" in December last and arrived at Madras on the 28. Prior to leaving Hamburg, Mukherji wrote to Velayudham to meet him at Madras. On the arrival of the boat, Velayudham saw Mukherji. Under cover of darkness, Mukherji got ashore, met Velayudham and returned to the boat the following morning. Mukherji had intended to leave the boat here, but there was some difficulty and it was finally decided that he should go on to Calcutta and disembark there. The *Warteenfels*, left Madras on the 27th December, my informant says, for Calcutta via Rangoon. In this connection I may mention that the Director, Intelligence Bureau, reported on the 14th February that Mukherji was said to be in Calcutta. That he was in Gaya with Manilal shortly afterwards is well-known from the intercepted correspondence, and my informant corroborates this. At the beginning of March, Mukherji came to Madras, passing under the name of Ganga Prasad and stayed with Velayudham Pillai for some days and then with Singaravelu Chetti and met some of the local extremists and it was during this time that Singaravelu Chetti's Manifesto was drawn up.

I have been able to secure, for a very short period only, a Communist Membership Card with photograph, which Mukherji left with Velayudham Pillai for safety and also his letter of introduction signed by Muhammad Barkatullah and Bhupendra Nath Datta. It has been arranged that both these should be sent on to the Mukherji on his arrival in Germany.

Mukherji gave Velayudham Pillai the following names "Prothul Chandra Ganguli, Congress Committee, 36 Satyapoli, Daoca, as the person who is the chief Agent of Mukherji's Party in India. Velayudham has also given my informer a letter of introduction to this gentleman, which I submit for inspection



and return. Mukherji has also told Velayudham that Ganguli can be drawn on for any amount of money to further the cause. Mukherji said he was going to visit Gangoli at Dacca, as M. N. Roy had broadcasted the fact that he (Mukherji) was a traitor and should be discredited."

\* \* \* \* \*

On 11.6.23 information was received that Mukherji was about to leave or had just left Calcutta in a German boat. A wire was therefore sent to the Commissioner of Police informing him of the fact, and a reply has this day been received that the S. S. "*Warteenfels*" left on the 11th for Rangoon and Colombo. A wire has been sent to Rangoon, and Colombo is being addressed. To the latter a copy of the photo and Mukherji's Communist Passport is being sent. This photo is evidently of more recent date than the one on record and if it really is of Mukherji shows that he has altered extremely, and is now very fat. However, the informant has seen Mukherji and the two photographs is certain that Charlu *alias* Mellon *alias* Mukherji are one and the same person. A constable also recognised Charlu from Mukherji's old photo.

*Charlu's description :—*

Age about 35; height about 5' 7"; round face; one left upper tooth crowned in silver; stout.

F 261 K.W. 1

P. 278

Dear Com. Singaravelu,

Back again in the midst of the decaying capitalist civilization which still appears to have much pretensions. You must be struggling for the revival of our Congress when this letter reached you. I have many many things to write you. But I am afraid your mail is watched and my letters do not reach you. If you have got my last the ideas of the Conference is known to you. Since the idea has been discussed and decided upon, we must prepare for the Conference which is very important. Your presence will be greatly appreciated. The delegates should reach here not later than the end of January. Detailed information and other aids for those coming will reach you as soon as possible. Please see if it is not at all possible for you to take a holiday. It will be so grand. E. L. Iyer will be very welcome. What he lacks will be forthcoming. Some one will say on the

question before the delegates leave. So, you can assure them on that score.

Enclosed is the copy of a letter whose original has been sent straight to the addressee. See if it can be published in some paper. Perhaps "Swadharma" will do it. We must have the Conference we depend on you for suitable people. The future depends on this. We must organise the new party. The country is ready. The voice is raised.

With greetings.

Roy.

Photostat of the original letter in Roy's own handwriting.

F 261 K.W. 1

P. 290

Zurich, January 25

My dear Com. Velayudham,

Excuse me for the delay in answering your letter of December which reached me in time. Of late we have been having a lot of troubles and had to reorganise our entire work. Our position in Europe is not much better than yours in India, although you are not aware of it, nor do I need writing about it. I only mention the incident in order that you know that the delay was inevitable. We are fired up again, at least for the time being, and will carry on the work with more regularity.

I am answering only your letter, because the "reply with necessary papers from Com. S." mentioning in your letter, did not come. So far we got two numbers of the *Labour*. I cannot tell you why the Manifesto failed to reach us as soon it was published; but the fact is that it failed. It might have got lost in the Mail. Many things do. Particularly registered things, and you sent many things by registered post. We do not happen to be so legal here as you may think, and, therefore, are not always in a position to comply with all the formalities that are demanded by a German Postal bureaucracy before delivering anything registered.

This Manifesto business has always been a mystery to me which is, however, cleared at last by your last letter. I know Mukherji like a book, because he was long enough with me. Therefore it was not difficult for me to guess who was the father of that famous document. It reached in transcript form which was sent with a forged signature of Manilal to some German comrades for publication. I recognised Muk's hand-

writing in the forged signature of Manilal who was supposed to have been the sender. I could also see the shades of Muk—all through the Manifesto. The comrades to whom the manuscript was sent, handed it to me with the remark that it was a peculiar document with clauses which are positively pernicious. They would not publish it unless I would investigate into the genesis of the affair. I had already been informed by comrade Sing of the projected party and Manifesto. Therefore, I was in a position to inform the German Comrades immediately that the Manuscript was a fake document and result of Muk's intrigues. I also told them that the authentic manifesto, of the party should be forthcoming in a few days and would be available to the European party press for publication. How little did I know that the document, which I disowned and condemned, with sufficient reason and that, which I vouchsafed as an authentic document issued by bonafide organisation and signed by honest revolutionaries, were identical. There is no mention of L and K Party in the manuscript sent by Muk. It was supposed to be issued by some bogus organisation called "Peasants of Northern India and Workers of Southern India." Your manifesto did not reach me as expected, but gave the international press every scrap of information that it could get concerning the L and K Party. Com. Sing's Manifesto to the Gaya Congress, his speech etc. were given publicity. Of course I hailed the party as our own and went ahead to do everything that lay in my power to aid it. All could gather about its programme and constitution was from the printed party card and the Rules and Regulations. Here again Muk's tracks were discernable. I have nothing against Muk as an individual as Com. Singh appears to think. I do not hold anybody responsible for personal connections with him. What I objected to was that our party should be born under his influence which is held not only by me, but by an international also as bad. I pointed out the thing clearly to Com. Sing, who did not take any notice of my warning evidently thinking that it was a case of personal jealousy. Official notice from the international was also sent. Com. Sing denied any knowledge of the person while he was enjoying the party's hospitality. I mention these facts just to prove that the party did not behave with me straight on this case, although from the first moment I declared my adhesion to it and offered all my services. I also know how Muk got

in touch with Manilal and the latter easily fell under his bad influence. Now I know definitely from your letter that I was not wrong about the (organisers) of the Manifesto.

These few words about Muk and the behaviour of you all on this point are needed to prove that your manifesto was drawn mostly under his guidance. The object with which he went to India was intrigue against our work by which he expected to discredit us and re-establish his position. The Manifesto was drawn with this motive and you all involuntarily were party to it. The clause to which I took strong exception and which was considered as positively pernicious by responsible comrades here, was the work of Muk. All my requests and reasons for its removal have been in vain. You will stand by it. The reasons adduced by you as well as by Com. Sing in support of it, are childish to use the least inoffensive language. Who are those "Bolshevik and foreign agents" whom you denounce in your Manifesto? They are our comrades including myself. You need not take such a unwarranted course to "guard us from destruction". You should advise me not to be "anxious" about the clause, but apart from my objection to it, the International refuses to have any relation with a party which claims to be a communist, at least pretend to represent the proletarian cause but wishes such a clause in the Manifesto declaring its birth. Do you see the incongruity? And if the International disowns your party, I cannot fulfill my promises to help you. But did my best, notwithstanding, because I hoped that as honest revolutionaries you would see your mistake as soon it was pointed out to you; but unfortunately you insisted on your blunder. Therefore it was natural on my part to conclude that the party was born under wrong auspices and would not amount to much. I was correct. If after more than a year the party failed to make any impression in Indian politics, it is not for any technical reasons, which certainly have their influence, but primarily for the wrong auspices under which it was born and for its ideological weakness. I did my best to remove these disabilities, but all in vain. My criticism and suggestions about the programme were considered by Com. Sing as "waste of so much type written paper". It was certainly not encouraging. If there had been any sound theoretical opposition to my suggestions, I would only be too glad to carry on the discussion till the vital points of programme was cleared. It is not a child's

paly to build a new party. It is unavoidable that there will be many points of view and the consequent debate and polemic. This is very healthy. But what the party did was to give through the medium of Com. Sing very curt reply to my suggestions—reply which was unceremonious dismissal, and wanted me to prove my honesty and revolutionary integrity by securing help for it without bothering at all how it should act. You must think it was the best course for you to take; we happen to have a different view. We soon found out that the party was not what we expected it to be. Still I maintain perfectly friendly relations with you and did not fail to give practical indications in so far as I could give in the limitations put upon me by the International to which I must submit.

Now a few words about the contents of the Manifesto. I have written at length on this question. All my letters are addressed to Com. Sing and I have reasons to believe that they all reached him, so I have no desire to dwell on it again at length. I have also expressed my views publicly on the subject. I will have to write a small brochure if you desire my constructive criticism to the matter. I think it will be useful and will take up an analysis of the Manifesto, programme and activities of the party in an open letter soon. Meanwhile you can consult my letters to Com. Sing if you sincerely want to know my views and want to see the defects in your programme from any angle of vision.

Before touching other points of the Manifesto I would like to request you to sit down quietly and read the paragraph about Bolshevik agents. I have no hesitation in stating outright that this unfortunate clause, smuggled in your manifesto by an intriguing hand, may give you protection against imaginary government prosecution, but damn the party otherwise. Then the political part of the clause is ridiculous. What do you mean by "the Labour Section of the Bolshevik Movement?" Bolshevik movement has no commercial, aristocratic or any other section. It is a labour movement and only a labour movement. Will you kindly tell me who are these "Indian and European intellectuals" whom you damn as government agents. None of the European and Indian intellectual labour leaders in India ever pretended to be Bolsheviks, so they are evidently out of your views. It is, therefore, not difficult to surmise on whom your anathema falls. Can you not understand the seriousness of the implications of a

statement in which you affix your name and which you defend persistently?

Your reasons for taking a vague position as to "National Independence" are the same and equally uncovincing as those of Com. Sing whom I have answered several times. It is quite constitutional to state our goal to be National Independence. Often people and parties have done it in India without risking much. But the defect of your programme is not the omission of a particular phrase. The whole thing is vague and lacks a clear conception of the situation. How can you expect to draw adherents to your party if you fail to state clearly and unequivocally what you stand for? There are other points in your programme which are equally defective. The failure of the party to grow is due to these defects. You did not go at the matter right. The obstinacy or should I call it a sense of self-righteousness on your part has been much enormity that you would not even see the queerness of using the English word and another Indian word in the name of the party. Why for heaven's sake, do not use two words of either language? My suggestion even in such technical point was ignored.

You complain that you could not do what you wanted for lack of funds, but significantly enough you say in an unguarded moment that "if money is plentiful men come". Do you expect to build a party of any worth with men who still join you only because you have plenty of money. So, my dear friend, to attract reliable revolutionary material to the party you need nothing else. You need the ability to show them the way that the present leaders cannot and which the revolutionary masses cannot fend themselves. This depends upon your possessing a clear knowledge of the way. You want to go yourselves. You must be convinced that you are in a position to visualise the objective desires and aspirations of the masses. Then your task will be to make them articulate through the medium of your programme. This has not been done in the least by your manifesto. One is loath to admit the shortcomings of one's creation. But to be able to do so is one of the revolutionary virtues. Besides, as pointed out above, the Manifesto is not your creation. Thus do you shoulder the responsibility and want to defend it.

I suppose you will understand the spirit of this communication. It is written purely objectively. No personal insinuation is involved in it. Although I do not make secret of

my opinion about the political merit of your and other Comrades' works—an opinion which is not very agreeable and which is expressed rather in an un-Indian way—I have nothing but admiration for the personal qualities of yourself, Com. Sing and others. I appreciate the spirit and energy of Com. Singaravelu and from the very beginning of our acquaintance hailed him as our future leader. Politically his behaviour might have made me change my views, but personally my admiration remains intact. The story of your sacrifice is inspiring. The building of a working class party demands men like you—not those who will flock if there is plenty of money.

If you are willing to reconsider the whole position and begin all over again I will be very glad to join hands. But we must rise above *amour propre*. One should admit that a wrong start has been made. This brings me back to the necessity of a preliminary Conference. I have insisted on this repeatedly. All these misunderstandings and political blunders could be avoided, had the party been launched after proper deliberations. It was a hasty undertaking. Adequate preparations were not made. I will be certainly glad if you can come. We need a few more comrades from other provinces, can you undertake the task of organising the delegation to the preliminary Conference here? I am ready to render all helps to this end. See if 4 or 5 Comrades can come. We will have a thorough discussion of all the question in detail, elaborate the programme, draft a new manifesto, arrange about the party press, organisation, communication etc. Then the delegation will return to call a large Conference which will be the first congress of our *legal Party* (which cannot be the Communist Party and which will embrace revolutionary national elements beside socialist). The draft programme will be adopted by this Congress and the party will be launched publicly not on paper, neither is a small group, nor again as a exclusive sect, but as a powerful revolutionary mass organisation. I would suggest that you get in touch with the people. Ghulam Hossain in Lahore (can look over Sams Uddin Hossain. He writes me often about his works and plans, more about the latter than about the former), the group of Dange if he desires, which I am beginning to doubt, Sampurnanand of Benares, the Bengal Party with which you can get in contact through our revolutionary friend and any other elements that you may think suitable. Try to push the matter so that the Conference can be held not later

than March. The technical arrangements for the trip can be done in several ways. Some may come openly with passport. Their relations with us here will be kept strictly secret so there will be no difficulty when they return. The others, who cannot get passport can come illegally and return the same way. We will make the arrangement. Our friend in Pondicherry will arrange for the trip outward. We will hold the Conference in France. It will be easier to get a passport for that country. One can say that he is coming just for a trip or to look for business opportunities. It will be desirable to insist that the delegates will find their own expenses to come; because in that case we will be sure of more genuine men. But we cannot be too strict upon this rule. There may be very good comrades who will not be able to find their own means. So when you have got the delegation ready and are certain of its reliability, we will attend to financial aspect of the case. Some help will be available and our passage back will be paid for all at any rate. You may need visit our prospective comrades. Some many for the purpose can also be got; provided that you take the responsibility of organizing a delegation within a given time. I am instructing the Pondichery office to attend to these matters. Please get in touch with them. In this connection I may mention the possibility of doing something with the Trade Union Congress now that it is free from the influence of Chamanlal. The new officers seem to be a better lot. I have some connection with them. I am writing Com. Sing particularly on this question. It will be a good idea to invite one of them to join the delegation. The Secretary of the Bengal Federation Mukunda Lal Sarkar, may do. If you can come down to Pondicherry and have a talk with our agent there (a new comrade) the question of your personal affairs may be somehow solved. We need honest and revolutionary workers. Financially we are not nearly so well up as seems to be the prevailing idea in India. The finances of the party must be found in India; but we will be able to find means for supplying the preliminary expenses provided that good workers are available.

I think enough has been written for the present. I will expect an early reply from you. This communication can be considered as addressed to the party if you like. Particularly the contents can be brought to the notice of Com. Sing.

Henceforth do not write or send anything more to Berlin.



Papers, literature etc. and ordinary communication can be sent to the address on the paper (Dr. Hitz Bey, Postkach 348, Zurich). It is quite safe. He is not a Turkish Bay but a Swiss member of the Parliament. It can also be used for confidential correspondence, since the Swiss P.O. is still safe. But you can also use the Amsterdam address as well as the following: M. Petit, Bureau Central, Qual Valmy 117, Boity 40, Paris. An inside cover addressed to me. If you mail in Pondicherry, anything can be sent to this address absolutely safe.

With best wishes and warmest greetings to all the comrades and yourself.

Sd/- M. N. Roy

N.B. Sams-Ud-Hassan writes me that he has 4 men (2 in Bengal & 2 in U. P.) to come as delegates to the 5th Congress of the C. I. Keep in touch with them and see how these men are. If some of them can serve our purpose you can choose two, one from each province.

M. P. S. Velayudham

F 298-Part B

*Sub: List of Soviet Secret Service Agents in India*

J & P (S) 8676

India Office,  
Whitehall, S.W. 1  
6th Dec. 1923.

*Soviet Secret Service Agents in India*

*Secret*

Dear Sir,

In reports numbered CX 973 and dated 21/9/23 and 26/11/23, of which copies must have been sent to the DIB by the IPI, the S.I.S. forwarded lists of Sov. Secret Service agents in India. The first list was not very probable looking, and apparently it has not been possible in India to confirm any of the information. The second list is more likely in appearance; and in sending it, the S.I.S. report that agents reported from the same source to be working in Germany have in fact been identified, and ask that enquiries may be made in India as to both lists.

I am therefore to ask that all practicable endeavours may be made to make sure whether or not the lists are correct.

The Secretary to the  
GOI, Home Department,  
Delhi.

Yours faithfully,  
Sd. F. E. Ferard

Secretary,  
Judicial & Pub. Department

C. Kaye's note dated 14.1.24 regarding the list of names  
(Soviet Secret Service Agents)

The lists are merely lists of names, which I do not think H. D. want be enquired into. I give example:

*First list 21.9.23*

*Second list 3.12.23*

Karachi : Alexander Zeger

Mirza Harad Ogli

Surat : A. M. Peck (*alias*  
Novikov)

Zenin Safar Ogli

Kuttak : Heinrich Zon (Pos-  
sibly John)

F. I. Vollion (Possibly  
*alias* Keverkov)

Nagpur : Pavel Grossman

G. H. Ali

Goa : Li Hun-Chan

Shafir Hazarbek

Calcutta : Fedor Vassilievitch  
Streltsov

L. I. Shrafuddin Ogli

The first lot are said to have been sent to India, as 3rd International agents, in 1921 and 1922: second lot, to be now working in India as Soviet agents.

We circulated the first list, and all CIDs reported that no person of the name given can be identified as having been at the places mentioned. We have now circulated the 2nd list, and have asked that enquiries should be instituted, explaining that there is good reason to believe that the reports are accurate: though it is of course quite likely that the actual names may have been mutilated and that their owners may have adopted aliases. Replies are awaited.

To: H. D. (Hon'ble Mr. Crerar)

No. 144

Government of India

- Secret

H.D. (Political)

Simla, the 21st August, 1924.

*Subject: Lists of Soviet Secret agents in India.*

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my demi-official letter No. 10. Poll.,

dated the 17th January 1924, I am desired to say that the result of the circulation of the second and subsequent lists of Government Secret Service agents in India has elicited the following actual identification, most of which were only probable or possible.

#### ISI LIST

PAVEL GROSSMAN (NAGPUR) : May be identical with one Paul Grossman, a member of the Pan German Union, who was reported in 1920 as intending to come to India but, so far as the GOI are aware, never actually started. The Central Provinces Police were unable to find any trace of a visit by him.

ALEXENDER ZEGER (KARACHI) : Arrived in Baghdad from Kermanshah in July 1921, with his wife and 2 children and was deported from Baghdad to Vladivostok in August 1921. I.P.I. was informed.

USMANI (MADRAS) : May be identical with Shauket Usmani, recently sentenced at C'pore, but the GOI have no evidence that he ever visited Madras.

#### 3rd List

B. P. OUSMAN OR AUSMAN OR OWSEMAN (LUCKNOW) : One Mahomed Ausman (or Osman), a Mahomedan, was reported to have arrived in Lucknow (with 6 friends) on February 16th, 1924, and left for Delhi on the following day. The Delhi authorities made exhaustive enquiries, but were unable to trace him. The U.P. authorities made further enquiries, but without result. I.P.I. was informed.

IBRAHIM HUSSAIN (KABUL), HASSAN MIRZA-OGGLI (PESHAWAR) : The P'war intelligence Bureau reported that one Ibrahim Hussain, "a well-known Bolshevik spy" who had worked in Kabul and Bajaur, left Afghanistan in the autumn of 1922 with Qazi Abdul Wali's 'Medical' mission to Angora, and had not been heard of since. Also that one Hassan Mirza had been traced in Peshawar, an employee of the firm of Karim Agha, the Peshawar agents for the Persian Legation at Kabul, that the Persian Legation has caused protests to be made to India by His Majesty's Minister against alleged (the allegation was unfounded) interference with their agents by the CID, and that Hussain Mirza was being kept under such observation as was

possible, in view of these interests. No results followed. I.P.I. was informed.

6th List

J. S. DURAN OR DURANT OR DURAND (PATNA) : One R. P. Durant was found to be residing in Patna. He sometimes called himself R. S. Durani and sometimes G. Durani. The Bihar and Orissa Police know him as a swindler and suspected opium smuggler, living by his wits, but have been unable to find any reason for thinking him to be a Bolshevik agent. I.P.I. was informed.

2. The original information said that the persons whose names were given in the lists were using *aliases* in India which greatly enhanced the difficulty of identification. The fact, however, that certain individuals of names identical with or closely resembling those given in the lists, have been found to be at the places stated, given colour to the belief that the lists are genuine. It is, however, peculiar that while the names of 170 persons were noted recently in preparing the brief for the Bolshevik Conspiracy trial in Cawnpore are being connected with the Bolshevik movement in one way or another, none of these names bears any resemblance to the names given in I.P.I.'s lists. If the latter are genuine, then the conclusion be drawn is that there are two quite separate Bolshevik organisations working in India, apparently unknown to each other, are run by Roy from Europe, either direct or *via* Afghanistan, the other worked from Vladivostok *via* the Far East. This is quite possible, but it is certainly strange that while the G.O.I. have been able to accumulate a mass of information regarding the former, their information regarding the latter is so meagre as to be practically non-existent, while they have no knowledge whatever of its results.

To  
J. E. Ferard, Esq., C.B.E.  
Secretary, P & J Department,  
London Office.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd. J. Crerar

C. KAYE'S NOTE : The lists are voluminous, and, if genuine, show a wide network of Bolshevik agents in India. There is also, as I say, a more recent mention of a large sum of money. Apart from the difficulty about the names, we have had no evidence at all of the existence of a well-financed Bolshevik

organisation in India—rather the contrary. The “Bolshevik” accused at C’Pore were always asking for money, in their correspondence, and never (with one exception—Ghulam Hussain, who received together £200 from Kabul) getting more than a small sum: Roy several times wrote that a demand for money was of no use unless the person demanding it could produce proof of actual results achieved—we know that large sums have been noted by the Bolsheviks for Indian work: but the indications are unmistakably that actual payments are only made by results—on the presentation, as to speak, of a “Contingent Bill”. Further, when I draw up my original Bolshevik ‘brief’, I included all the persons whose names are mentioned in any correspondence bearing on the subject: in all, about 170 names

F. 300.

*Sub: Application for amnesty and permission to return to India from Abani Mukherji*

From the India Office No. P & J (S) 961/24  
dated 24.7.1924.

A brief sketch of Abani Mukerji’s career is given in the “List of Indians” who have been or are still now in Germany, 1916. This statement will be found in the following proceedings. *Political Dep. Novr. 1916 No. 44*. It will be seen that he was an active conspirator in the Indo-German Plot during the war. He admits his association in Bolshevik propaganda and that he returned to India from Russia without a pass—in the guise of a seaman. While in Calcutta he was in league with some of the Alipore conspirators the majority of whom are now in internment. He makes no mention of this fact in his statement. Mukerji returned to Berlin clandestinely about September 1923.

2. It is the accepted policy not to grant an amnesty to Indian seditionists abroad; but to permit them to return provided they are prepared to face the risk of prosecution for their past misdeeds, if this is considered necessary by the Government. In regard to Bengal we have recommended the refusal of passports to persons whose presence is likely to cause embarrassment to the local government, particularly at the present juncture. This request may be refused on the same grounds.

3. DIB may see for remarks in the first instance.

6.8.24

Sd/- Illegible.

11.8.24

(Sloan ?)

Abani Mukherji came to India, on his recent journey, as an emissary of the "anti-Roy" party of Indian revolutionaries, of which I have photographed copies: his mandate printed in Russian and German, declaring him to be a bonafide delegate of the 3rd Congress of the Communist International with the right to an ordinary vote: and a certificate that he was "the member and joint secretary of the Indian Committee for Russian Relief", signed by Barkatullah and Bhupendra Nath Dutt. In addition to these two notorious revolutionaries, Abani Mukherji was in close contact with another, even more notorious, Chatto. The certificate was dated October 13, 1922; and the 'mandate' June 21, 1921. The letter was cancelled by a circular dated October 2, 1922, in which the C.I. disowned Abani Mukherji and expressed their confidence in M. N. Roy, against whom Abani Mukherji, decided on working. In spite of this circular, Abani Mukherji was in correspondence with Zinovieff, not dated but apparently written in January, 1923 (from India), was seen in the censorship. It is not at all impossible that the C.I., while publicly condemning Abani Mukherji, were secretly supporting him as a second string of their bow, as an emissary of the anti-Roy party—the "Indian Independence Party" of Chatto, Barkatullah and B. N. Dutt. This party is, if anything, more extreme than Roy's, and a more convinced believer in violent revolution—Roy is opposed to "premature violence" and thinks individual assassination futile. There is every reason to believe that Abani Mukherji, and his patrons, are of the contrary opinion. Though we have no evidence, we have pretty definite "information" that Abani Mukherji, while in India, was able to put the Bengal revolutionaries in touch with seamen engaged in smuggling revolvers from Germany, and thereby conspired the introduction of quite a considerable number. In the early part of 1923, Abani Mukherji was in touch with a number of prominent Bengal revolutionaries—notably Upendra Nath Banerji (now detained under Regulation III) who was himself in correspondence with Roy and R. C. L. Sharma of Pondicherry, and who provided—or, perhaps, on the channel for—money to Abani Mukherji, signing himself as "Sudhansu," writing to him as 'dear brother' and commenting in the 'non-violent' programme in Abani Mukherji's (titulary) Mani Lal's "Labour and Kishan Party" manifesto, said "you know definitely that I am not a believer in non-violence. I think, and I think rightly, there will come a stage when my views will be fulfilled and I should like

to prepare my brother for that supreme moment. But I am quite ready to take up non-violence not as a principle but as a means to organise ourselves."

After Abani Mukherji had made his statement at Singapore he was allowed out on parole—which seems to suggest that the local authorities did not care whether he 'escaped' (as he did) or not. His wife, by the way, is an European—the only thing we know about her is that her first name is Rosa : we believe her to a Russian Jewels, but perhaps German.

We have recently heard that the Bolsheviks have managed to get all the Indian revolutionaries in Europe work together, though this has not been confirmed; but, whether that is or not, Abani Mukherji's record seems to show definitely that—whether his publicly stated views—he is a definite advocate of violence and in touch with the Communist International : and that, if he was allowed to come to India, he would do so as a propagandist of revolutionary and Bolshevik ideas. In the interests not only of Government of Bengal, but of the Government of India also, I think his request should certainly be refused.

Sd. C. Kaye  
20.8.24.

India Office,  
White Hall,

London S.W. 1.  
17th July, 1924.

*Confidential*  
*Amnesty for Abani Mukherji*

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India as forwarded for consideration copy of correspondence enclosing a petition from Abani Mukherji for amnesty and permission to return to India. It has been suggested that should the G.O.I. be disposed to consider his request, he should first be asked to state in full the offences under the criminal law of India which he has committed, and for which he asks for amnesty. Thereafter, any amnesty granted would only extend to such offences and such occasion as he may have mentioned in his application.

The Secretary to the  
Government of India  
Home Department.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient servant  
J. Ferard,  
Secretary,  
Pub. & Judicial Department.

(K. 9624/9624/218)

To H. E.

Ramsay MacDonald Esq., Prime Minister of G. B.  
White House, London.

Through H. E. The Ambassador of His Britannic Majesty.

Sir,

With due respect I beg to draw your favourable attention to the following.

I am an Indian Socialist from Calcutta. For the last few years a political exile in Europe. I pray for an amnesty for my past deeds. I am willing to sign any official form that be necessary to get back my freedom and passport to return home with my wife and baby.

I have etc.

26th June 1924.

(Sd.) Abani Mukherji

From :—A. Mukherji, C/o. M. Berger, Bandel St. 44  
Berlin NW.

Berlin,

1st June, 1924

I Abani Mukherji an Indian political exile from Calcutta at residing in Berlin do hereby request the Government to let me return to my home together with my wife and baby and to restore my freedom by forgetting the past activities. In exchange I promise not to take part in any secret anarchistic or terrorist activities in India. I am a socialist and will devote myself for the economic and social emancipation of the Indian Masses by all non-violent means by forming a Labour Party within the Indian National Congress movement. I am ready to fill up the official form if that be necessary for this effect.

(Sd.) Abani Mukherji

Bandel Strasse, 44

Berlin, N.W. 21

1st June, 1924

Dear Comrade,

Though personally unacquainted herewith I beg to introduce myself with a letter of our mutual comrade and friend



Com. Leipat, President of the German T. U. Federation, Insel Brucice Berlin and beg to be excused for the trouble that I cause.

I am an Indian Political exile for the last 8 years. Though at first I mixed up with the National Revolutionary group in India, I am a declared socialist. I entered the socialist movement in 1921 while student in Germany. Now that the Labour Government has come in power in Great Britain my wish is to get back to India and devote myself to the Socialist cause in organising the Labourers and Peasants of India. But as my name stands in the black list and as I have not the necessary passport I wish someone to be helpful in bringing my case before the Government. Here comes the difficulty as I have no friends in the British Labour Circle who may help me and I solicit your kind favour as a comrade to help me out of this difficulty. For your notice I may mention that I heard that Com. Lansbury and his son-in-law also an M.P. are interesting themselves in Indian affair. I thank you in advance for greetings.

To: Mr. Bramley  
.. Ex. Com. T.U.C.  
32 Eccleston Square  
London, S.W.1

Yours etc.  
(Sd) Abani Mukherji

P.S. Enclosed are two names one about my detailed personal information for your understanding the situation and the other a letter to the Government in case you may need that.

I Abani Mukherji resident of 1 Sukeas Street, Calcutta was arrested in Singapore in 1915 in connection with attempted Indian revolution of that year. During my internment in the fort there after one and half years stay I got a chance to escape from the internment and used it for myself. I escaped to the Dutch Indies.

In spite of the complications I am a declared Marxist. I entered the Socialist movement in 1912 while a student in Germany. During my flight in 1917, I had time to think over the cause of our memorable failure and fully realised that it was an attempt of the students and intelligentsia (sic), the masses were not with us and could not be with us we did nothing to represent their interest. Thus I developed my socialistic principles and chalked a way how it should be applied in Indian

situation. It took full 3 years for me to come to a decision. Accordingly I came out of my hiding in 1920 and went over to Russia. There I took part in the 2nd Congress of the 3rd International representing India. I lived in Russia for full two years and took part in all the Congresses and Conferences. I was one of those that organised the Indian Communist Party in Russia. I was also mentioned in the Notes that was presented to the Russian Govt. by the Br. Foreign office in 1921. But from the first part of 1922 I began to differ with the International in principle as it more and more succumbed before the vested interests of a group rather clik (sic.) and replaced original principles for the interests of that body. Consequently due to my refusal to accept that so-called principle and to sell ourselves I was isolated and I left Russia to proceed to India. I had no pass and permission to go to India but I availed myself an opportunity and went over there secretly. I stayed over there for over a year also secretly and organised the Labour Party that is wanted there. After studying the condition and psychology of the masses there I found them to be primitive though subconsciously ripe and I came to the conclusion that to talk about Communism with these people who as yet do not exactly know what their interest is, is nothing more than an attempt to exploit them in a new way for certain vested interested (sic.). Which is termed as Phrase revolutionism. But to organise these ever exploited masses I though in my hard conditions organised the Hindustan Labour and Peasants Party with headquarter at Madras. The main principle of this party was that it will be an open organisation of the Indian Masses. That it will follow the slogan of non-violence. That it will take parliamentary actions in the Councils and outside Councils to protect the Labour interest in India. That it will fight with legitimate means for universal Franchise etc. and that it will not accept or except (sic.) any foreign help as we had realised that those who pay always do that to protect their vested interests which hinders our progress. Its programme was to act within the Congress as the Swarajia party works. But before I could finish my work I was forced to leave the country as I was betrayed by interested persons who intrigued against me and sent out a declaration from the 3rd International, in spite of the fact that then I was not working in conjunction with that International—that I am expelled. This letter was

sent by the interested persons and fell in the hands of the Police who was not aware of my presence and I had to flee as I was looked for by the police. This action of the 3rd International was a direct betrayal to me at a time when I was working there at a great personal risk. I left India in March this year and returned to Berlin.

I am from principle an anti-terrorist and I always fought against it in the movement. I never took any part in such actions. I also do not represent any government or organisation as an agent. I work as I think it best for India from socialistic principles. I am a Marxist-Socialist. I believe in the evolution of society and people. I understand from the speeches of Indian Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal that the Government is not against any principle. What they want to oust from the country is Terrorism with which I have no connection. If this be true and I believe to be true as the Labour Party is in power now, I request to let me free in India to complete my work. I want passport to return there together with my wife and baby. I am ready to give guarantee that I shall not interest in anything except the Labour organisations on the principles mentioned above as a socialist within the Indian National Congress.

(Sd) Abani Mukherji  
Berlin

No. D 2695

Political Branch  
Dated 4th September, 1924

To

The Secretary,  
Public & Judicial Deptt., India Office, London.

*Sub: Amnesty for Abani Mukerji*

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. P & J (S) 961, dated 17th July, 1924, I am directed to say that the G.O.I. are unable to agree that an amnesty should be granted to Abani Mukerji in any conditions whatever. The G.O.I. could place no reliance on any promise that Mukerji might give to refrain from further revolutionary activity, and they believe that if he were allowed to come to India he would do as a propagandist of revolu-

tionary and Bolshevik ideas. The present would obviously be a most inopportune time to allow him to return to Bengal. This attitude of the G.O.I. is based on the following information regarding Mukerji's recent activities and connections. Mukerji recently visited India secretly as an emissary of the "Anti-Roy" party of Indian revolutionaries and carried a mandate declaring him to be a *bona-fide* delegate of the III Congress of C.I., and that a certificate that he was a member and Jt. Secy. of the Indian Committee for Russian Relief. This certificate was signed by Barkatullah and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, two notorious revolutionaries. While Mukerji was in close contact with a third, even more notorious revolutionary "Chatto". The mandate was cancelled by a circular dated Oct. 2, 1922, in which the C.I. disowned Mukerji and expressed their confidence in Roy, against whom Mukerji was said to be working. In spite, however, of this circular Mukerji was later believed to be in correspondence with Zinovieff, President of the C.I. and it is not at all impossible that the C.I., while publicly condemning Mukerji was secretly supporting him as an emissary of the "anti-Roy" party and the *Indian Independence Party* of Chatto, Barkatullah, Dutt, which is, if anything, more extreme than Roy's and a more convinced believer in violent revolution. There is also strong reason to believe that while Mukerji was in India recently he was able to put the Bengal revolutionaries in touch with Seamen engaged in smuggling revolver from Germany and thereby effected the introduction of a considerable quantity of arms. The G.O.I. hope that, in view of Mukerji's recent record as described above, the Secy. of State will agree that it is extremely undesirable to grant him an amnesty. If Mukerji desires to return to India at his own risk, the G.O.I. will not of course object to the grant of a passport to him, reserving to themselves the right to take such action as appears advisable on his arrival in India.

I have etc.  
(Sd.). J. Crerar  
Secretary

F 345

**BOLSHEVIK ORGANISATIONS :** It is necessary to review briefly the Bolshevik organisations to import arms and propaganda into

this country before the extent of the measures necessary to combat it can be decided.

**USE OF INDIANS BY BOLSHEVIKS :** For the last 3 or 4 years the Soviet Government has been paying increasing attention to India, possibly because their endeavours to spread Bolshevism to the West were, on the whole unproductive. Indian malcontents abroad were used as the best means to introduce Bolshevism in this country, and the Bolsheviks got into touch with a group of educated Indian irreconcilables in Germany, most of whom were Bengalis, and with others in trans-frontier country who were chiefly Muhmmadans and who were reinforced by Muhajirin in 1921. A good many of these Muhajirin were converted to the Bolshevik creed through the influence of a Bengali named Noren Bhattacharji, *alias* M. N. Roy, and were educated as propagandists in a Bolshevik School at Tashkent from where they subsequently scattered. Some of them reached Moscow or Berlin, and Roy himself finally arrived at the latter place and about a year ago produced a Communist paper there which was named the "Vanguard" or the "Advance Guard". In the production of this he receives a considerable assistance on the literary side from his wife who was an American Socialist named Evelyn Trent. Roy, who had absconded from India 10 years ago, had been in touch with a number of Indian revolutionaries in Berlin, but he fell out with most of them in the course of competition to obtain the position of recognised Bolshevik agent for India. Although he was successful in obtaining the post, the Indians in Europe who consented to follow him were confined, with few exceptions to those, whom he had succeeded in converting Bolshevism at Tashkent. Former dealings with Indian revolutionists had taught the Soviet Government to have little trust in either their honesty or ability, so the funds allotted for propaganda in India were not handed over to Roy, but were kept in the control of Zinovieff, the President of the Executive Committee of the Third International, to be doled out as required.

**NALINI GUPTA :** Having established his position as the recognised agent for India, Roy proceeded to send emissaries to that country with the object of forming a party there to spread Communist ideas. Several of his Muhammadan followers crossed N. W. Frontier and entered India by land, but most of these were detected and arrested by the N. W. Frontier Police;

and the first of his emissaries who established a footing in India was a Bengali Hindu named Nalini Gupta who came by sea *via* Colombo at the end of 1921. Nolini started his propaganda work at Calcutta but must have had, on the whole, a disappointing experience. Roy was particularly anxious to obtain a mandate from the National Congress in order to consolidate his position with the Bolshevik Government, but Nalini Gupta failed to get the support of either the Nationalists or the revolutionists whom he met. Ultimately he gained, as an adherent in Calcutta, one Muzaffar Ahmad, who was an employee on the staff of the "Muhammadi", a paper which is produced by a well-known *Wahabi* agitator named Akram Khan. Through him, he collected a small party which included Kutub Uddin, President of the Khansamma's Union, and Abdul Razak, a relative of Akram Khan. He also gave financial assistance to several Bengali-Hindu students and sent them to Europe in the hopes that they would ultimately become useful propagandists, but naturally these Hindus undertook the journey with the main object of completing their studies, and having reached Berlin, the majority of them dissociated themselves from Roy. Nalini Gupta subsequently himself returned to Berlin after collecting addresses of a number of persons of anti-government views and therefore suitable recipients for Bolshevik literature.

SHAUKAT USMANI: The next of Roy's agents who had any success in India was Shaukat Usmani who arrived at Bombay about the middle of 1922 and spent most of the following cold weather in the U.P. where he succeeded in forming parties in Benares and Cawnpore. At the former place the majority of his supporters are students of the Hindu University and hail from Bikaner, and this is probably accounted for by the fact that Usmani himself comes from that place. Among the students the most important appears to be Iman Uddin Risvi, who seems to have been in touch with Roy before Usmani's arrival in Benares. Another of Usmani's converts was a Professor named Sampurnanand, who was formerly employed as a teacher in Bikaner. Sampurnanand was fairly well-known as a political agitator and he had produced and circulated a scheme of "swaraj" which showed Bolshevik tendencies. In the early part of this year Usmani travelled about a good deal and his movements are uncertain, but he was ultimately arrested in the U.P. in May. Before that it was known that he was trying to leave India and there is good reason to believe that a Persian

Armenian named Kachik Avanossian domiciled in Bombay was assisting him in his attempt.

**ASHLEIGH, DANGE, SINGARAVELU ETC. :** The next communist emissary of any importance, who came to India was an Englishman named Ashleigh, who arrived at Bombay in September, 1922, but there his passport was cancelled and he accordingly had to return home by the next boat. He succeeded, however, in getting touch with Roy's agent in Bombay—an individual named S. A. Dange—to whom he transferred his mission. Dange according to Roy, is the head of his party in India, and is the editor of a paper called the "Socialist", in the production of which he is assisted by one T. V. Parvate, and received financial support from Ranchoddas Bhavan Lotwalla, the owner of the Hindusthan Press. Dange apparently attracted Roy's attention sometime ago by the production of a pamphlet entitled "Gandhi vs. Lenin" which showed communist sympathies and which encouraged Roy to correspond with, and ultimately to recruit, him as a follower. By the same means Roy recruited in Madras an agitator named M. Singaravelu Chettiar, who had contributed a communistic article to local paper called "Hindu". In addition to the persons already mentioned an individual named Ghulam Hussain had been imbued with Bolshevik views during a visit when he paid to Kabul before the Amir had expelled the Bolsheviks from that place, and he succeeded in forming a small party and in producing a paper called "Inqilab" in Lahore. He is in touch with Roy and with Roy's other followers in India. In addition to the persons already mentioned the Party have some other minor members who are mainly utilised as accommodation addresses for correspondence.

**ACTIVITIES OF ROY'S PARTY IN INDIA :** There is nothing to indicate that Roy has as yet attempted to import arms into India, but this will undoubtedly follow if he succeeds in working up an organisation capable of disturbing government by means of revolutionary methods. As mentioned above, members of Roy's party produce socialistic newspapers in Bombay and Lahore, while one of Dange's disciples named Satya Bhakte is producing a similar publication called the "Pranvira" at Nagpur, but these papers do not reach the class which is likely to be attracted by Bolshevism, and which, on the whole, is illiterate. His followers co-operate with labour leaders of the type of Chaman Lal of Lahore who is also in touch with Saklatwala, Mukunda Lal Sircar of Calcutta etc., and these people are not labourers

themselves and appear to be actuated by the desire of personal gain. In Madras, however, Singaravelu has gone a step further in the direction of Bolshevism and is endeavouring to form manual labourers and peasants into an organisation called the "Labour and Kishan Party of Hindusthan", one of the principles of which is the refusal to recognise the right to possess property. His activities in this respect appear to be in pursuance of Roy's desire to organise what he calls "a legal party" to cover up his underground conspiracy. Singaravelu has active supporters in Madras in the persons of E. L. Aiyer and M. R. A. Velayudham.

Roy himself broadcasts all over India his paper, the *Vanguard* and in several places the Extremist Press have expressed ideas which obviously emanated from this publication. It is, however, probable that this is done more with the object of obtaining copy and attaining notoriety than as a result of assimilation of Roy's ideals. In the same way the formation, by the National Congress during its last meeting at Gaya, of separate Committee to deal with the organisation of labour, though doubtless influenced by Roy's propaganda, does not include any general acceptance of his principles, for the Committee was starved financially and its consequent activity has excited little comment. It is obvious that the leaders of the Congress realise that labour is a dangerous weapon which might lead to their own destruction; but Mr. C. R. Das on several occasions since his release from Jail, has been more venturesome and has stated that Swaraj cannot be attained without co-operation of the masses, the organisation of which he urges.

**ADVANTAGES OF EARLY ACTION:** From the above it is apparent that Roy's party in India, as far as is known, consists of a few individuals located at Bombay, Lahore, Cawnpore, Benares, Calcutta and Madras, and that they have had as yet little success in interesting labour. If therefore action against them is contemplated, it is advisable to take it as early as possible before they attain the dignity of public heroes. There is no reason to believe that Roy has as yet endeavoured, to import arms into India, but it is known that he intends to do so as soon as his organisation here is capable of making use of them; so the desirability of breaking it up before it attains this state is obvious. Action against this party in India would expose to the Third International the inefficiency of Roy's organi-



sation and would discredit Indian assistance generally in the eyes of the Soviet Government.

**REVOLUTIONARY CONNECTIONS :** Although Nalini Gupta was unable to gain support of the Bengal revolutionaries there is good reason to believe that Roy himself, by means of correspondence, has been more successful and that he is now in close touch with at least Bhupati Mazumdar, and Bhupen Datta. These individuals are leading members of the Bengal anarchist group which is well organised and has recently renewed its activities. When the trouble which the Bengali revolutionists succeeded in creating about the years of 1915, 1917 remembered, the danger of their affiliation with Bolsheviki in Europe, capable of supply them with arms, is apparent.

**OTHER BOLSHEVIK ORGANISATIONS :** In addition to the organisation worked up by Roy it is quite possible that the Third International have other strings to their bow. Another Bengali revolutionary named Birendra Chatterjee, usually known as Chattopadhyaya, who was one of those who fell out with Roy, has recently been joined in Berlin by Barkatullah, who was formerly a member of the Indian Provisional Government formed by Mahendra Pratap in Kabul. There is reason to suspect that Barkatullah is in touch with Chicherin, who was the Soviet Government's minister for foreign affairs. Since he quarreled with Roy the information obtainable regarding Chattopadhyaya has been scanty, but it is known that an associate of his named Abani Mukherjee recently returned from Berlin to India where he defamed Roy whenever an opportunity occurred. Dr. Manilal who was deported from the Fizi Islands for causing unrest among labour, has recently settled at Gaya in Bihar and has established connections in the Roy's Party in India. At about Easter this year information obtained in Lahore indicated that the Indian Bolshevik Party would in future work under Mahendra Pratap and Dr. Manilal, and it is quite possible that Chattopadhyaya's Party is attempting to divert Roy's organisation to their own use with the object of discrediting Roy and obtaining for themselves financial aid from the Third International. Like Roy Chattopadhyaya is in touch with Bengali revolutionists and the fact that so little is now known about his activities makes it very desirable to curb them before they become embarrassing.

**POLICE :** Nowhere have the police adequate facilities to shadow Europeans, and in consequence the Bombay C.I.D. failed

to obtain any information of the doings of a Bolshevik emissary. Ashleigh, when he visited the city. To deal with Europeans plain-clothing European agents, who are good linguists, are required, and they could be so expensive and their service seldom necessary that their employment is not justified.

INTERNAL INFORMATION : Obviously the best means of obtaining information regarding an organisation is from members of the organisation itself, and most provinces in which Roy has followers have attained some results by this means. The most successful province in this respect is possibly Bengal, from where fairly detailed information of the activities of Roy's party in Calcutta and elsewhere has been forthcoming for the last 18 months. The Punjab CID has also furnished very useful information, and a certain amount has emanated from Madras, while the arrest of Usmani in the U.P. indicates that one or more agents have recently been obtained there. Bombay, however, has been distinctly unsuccessful in the acquisition of information, and apart from interception of correspondence practically nothing of interest has been ascertained there.

F 380

*Sub: Manifesto issued by the British Communist Party  
appealing for the support of colonial workers and  
for the destruction of the British Empire.*

BRITISH COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

P & J (S) 1677

India Office  
Whitehall, W.W.1  
10th Dec., 1925.

*Confidential*

Dear Sir,

I forward, for information, copy of the paper noted in the margin on the subject of a manifesto issued by the Br. C. P. appealing for support of colonial workers, and for the destruction of the Br. empire.

Manifesto issued  
by the Br. C. P.

The Secy. to the  
Govt. of India  
Home Deptt.

I am,  
Yours faithfully  
Sd. Ferrard,  
Secy. P & J. Dept.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BRITISH WORKERS & COLONIAL WORKERS : During the last

3 years, the labour movement in the East has developed far more rapidly than in the previous decade. The idea of unity between British trade unions and peasants in India is becoming a matter of practical politics.

The T.U.C. Committee is not only giving encouragement to the Indian Unions, but is pressing forward a Policy of equal rights for Western and Oriental Labour. This is very important as the British and Oriental Workers' interests are inseparably united. The International Department of Labour Party is also recognising the need of closer co-operation.

What has the downfall of German Labour meant to the workers here. Have not the workers here had to suffer heavily with every downward slip in Germany? So must we be effected by the subjection of Colonial worker. Labour in India, Africa, China, West Asia—wherever the Imperialist flag is flying—is always seriously handicapped and must have the fullest support of the British workers if it is to cease being a menace to British Working class standards. In large industries such as cotton, jute, coal, steel, ship-building and repairing, leather, paper, oil etc., it is becoming obvious that a decent standard of living is impossible in the West in face of the competition of the degraded and oppressed labour of the East. Intensive production, accompanied with utter incapacity for additional consumption by the Oriental Workers and peasants, is making unemployment an incurable economic disease in the West.

The lure of investment in countries where the imperialist slave-drivers can exploit cheap human labour is attracting British wealth produced by, and rightly belonging to, the British workers and leaving them without adequate means for houses, pensions, nursing homes, etc. Dividends earned by industries in the East wrung by torture from sweated colonial labourers came back to Britain in the shape of raw products in exchange, for bank bills, and British manufactured food are no longer required.

The British Empire, therefore, while it is the glory of the British imperialist exploiter is a trap for the British workers and whoever strives to maintain it, betrays the true interests of working class in the West as well in the East.

To talk of a socialist commonwealth in Britain with British soldiers ready for deeds of violence and murder in the Sudan, in Egypt, Iraq, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, India, Burma, Malacca, Southern Union, and in the West Indies is a crime against the working class. The British policy of peace at home and murder

and terror abroad is one of the strongest barriers to disarmament and has been principally responsible for the race of imperialist militarism in Europe since 1858. As long as Britain retains her ruthless hold over other people's countries, Europe cannot and will not disarm.

Workers of Britain! Do not be fooled into believing that the enslavement of the colonial workers can work out to your advantage. Independence all round can alone bring peace, security and an end to unemployment. The root cause of all your economic troubles is imperialist exploitation. As soon as the imperialist is removed and the workers and peasants of the East can co-operate with the workers of the West, so soon will our general subjection be ended.

Why should you support the Empire? Your share in the Empire is to provide the men to suppress the Sudanese, the Africans, the Indians, and the Chinese in order that the imperialists may grow fat on the loot.

Instead of supporting the exploiters join hands with the toiling millions of the East, help them to build up as a rampart against the ravages of Imperialism, and by so doing you will strengthen your non-economic and political power.

The Labour Party in its disagreement with the C. P. said that as Britain was an enfranchised country and not at all like Tsarist Russia, revolutionary methods were not justified. Do they then admit that for the people like India, South and East Africa, the Sudan, Iraq, Egypt and China, revolutionary methods are justifiable and indispensable?

In spite of all dishonest and oppressive methods to suppress propagation of the truth, the East has learned the significant difference between the Russian Soviet Policy and the capitalist imperialism. The complete renunciation by the Soviet Republic of the robber policy of the Tsar in Persia and Turkey, their immediate spread of education amongst the peasantry, their practical methods of absolute equality between European and Asiatic citizens must ultimately command the respect and veneration of all Asia and Africa.

Workers of the West! You cannot save yourself if you leave the workers of the East at the mercy of your capitalist oppressors. Help them to struggle with you against your common enemy.

Workers of the East! The Russian Workers' Republic is

the sign that when the East and West come together in the Workers' International, the world will be won for the workers.

Away with Imperialism!

No more empire—everywhere to workers' and Peasants' Republic.

Workers of the World Unite!

F 404

*Subject: Proposed return to India of the Indian  
Revolutionary Bhupendra Nath Dutt*

Previous Proceedings: F 300

Later References: F 94|IV

Copy

(9377|9377|378)

39 Bow Road.

London, E 3

11.9.24

Dear Ponsonby,

I have received enclosed letter. I wonder if you know about it?

It seems to me rather absurd that the man can neither return to India or this country. I thought a man who was native of a country has the right to return to it. I have never heard that the Indian Government deports people to Europe, and preventing this man returning to India is equivalent to sentence of deportation.

Enclo:—

Bhupendra Nath Dutta  
Bandel Strasse 44,  
Berlin-Moabit, Germany.

Yours very truly

Sd. G. Lansbury

Arthur Ponsonby Esq.,  
Under Secy. for Foreign Affairs,  
Foreign Office, S.W.1

Bandel Strasse 44,  
Berlin-Moabit  
Germany  
9th Sept. 1924.

Dear Sir,

Though I am not personally known to you, yet I understand that through friends you as well as Miss Lansbury have come to know about me and my conditions. So I need not

dwelt upon it any longer. In pursuance of the advice of friends, I applied to the P.M. of Great Britain through the British Embassy here for a passport for my journey back to India. In reply I was informed by the Consul here that I must fill up the necessary forms "furthermore supply a detailed statement of your movements and activities during the period of war."

In answer I said that "I was stranded in Athens in 1914-15 and was brought by the Indians working in Berlin and was with them during the rest of the war remaining in Berlin looking after the Indian prisoners encamped in Wunsdorf. In 1919 I joined the Berlin University, and got my Ph.D. Diploma last year from Hamburg in Anthropology", and I added that in case he did not see his way of issuing me a passport for India, he would give me one for London.

This didn't suffice the Consul and he wrote back that I did not furnish him a detailed account. As I did not know what he meant by a detailed account, today I paid a visit to him in order to have no mistake. His secretary informed me that they cannot grant me a passport of any Government unless I give a detailed account per month, per year of my activities during all this time.

I understand that in a case like mine, the British Consulates in America and elsewhere make no objection to issue a passport from England, and in the last month I have been advised from friends to come over there in order to remove the difficulties. I told the Consul here that if anything more must be said then I will say my say there and as the London authorities and the Consulate know all about me, then I do not see the reason why they should ask a detailed statement from me, and not give me a pass even for London! But they are abudrate. It appears to me that they want to extort a confession from me. I don't know what the secret informers reported against me, and I cannot give statements which must tally with the informations of the secret agents!

So, I have fulfilled all the formalities for the application of a passport. Yet it seems that my application is not even forwarded to London. I understand that friends in Calcutta are moving the Bengal Government for my return.

As for myself, I beg to say that I am primarily a natural scientist, I would like to devote my time in anthropological researches in India, and in Socio-economic problems. I have

marxistic world views. In 1913 I was a member of Bronx Socialist Club in New York and often visited the Rand School of Social Science, and was a student of the American Sociologist late Prof. Lester Ward. I was preparing to dwell myself for social service work in India.

As man grows and learns he is subject to development and change, and I have a new world view today than what I had some years ago. I always stand for the freedom of mankind and naturally I do stand for the political, social and economic freedom of the Indian masses. My articles in the "Hindustan Review", "Modern Review", "Servant" etc. of India will testify my new views. But I will not buy my liberty by sacrificing my conscience. Therefore I cannot do anything more to satisfy the bureaucracy.

Here in Germany I have been busy studying Cooperative Trade Unions movements, etc., and if the bureaucracy allows me to go over to England, I would like to study the labour movement in all its phases there. For that reason, I am anxious to come over to England for sometime.

We are workers for the Common Cause of human freedom, and as a co-worker I ask your advice about what to do in this cause. The only way that I see left is that the Consul should be asked from there to issue me a passport either to go to India or at least to London without making bureaucratic difficulties or trying to extort a "Confession" from me which I will never do. Of course I am willing to stand a trial if the authorities want it either in India or in England as I stand by my conscience. Asking your kind pardon for the intrusion.

I remain, etc.,

(Sd.) BHUPENDRANATH DUTTA

India Office, S.W. 1  
6th Oct. 1924.

*Confidential*

Sir,

.....A sketch of the history of Bhupendra Nath Dutt is enclosed in this letter.

The Under Secy. of St.  
Foreign Office  
S. W. 1.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
Sd. J. W. Hoss

**BHUPENDRA NATH DUTT**

Bhupendra Nath Dutt, son of Mahendra Nath Dutt, of Calcutta, born about 1880, is a brother of Swami Vivekananda, the well-known Vedantist. He was a prominent member of the revolutionary movement headed by Arabindo Ghosh, and in this connection was editor of the seditious paper "Jugantar".

In July 1907 he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for writing seditious articles in the paper. On release from jail in 1908 he went to New York, where he lived at the India House started by Myron H. Phelps, and he entered the New York State College.

On the outbreak of war in 1914 he went to the German Embassy at Washington and offered his services—he was sent there he was a trusted and prominent member of the Berlin Indian Committee. This Committee consisted of seditious Indians who were supported by the war office in Berlin. C. K. Chakravarty was the head of this Committee; other members being Chattopadhyaya, Har Dayal, Abdul Hafiz, etc. The Committee made every effort to cause a revolution in India, and to send arms from America for the use of revolutionaries. In connection with these schemes he several times visited Switzerland and prepared lists of political prisoners who might be of use in the revolutionary movement.

In 1916 he became secretary of the Indian Committee and was probably its most influential member. Part of the activities of this Committee was preparation of literature and attempts to seduce Indian prisoners of war, and in these activities B. N. Dutta was very prominent. A number of Indians were prosecuted in San Francisco in 1917, and B. N. Dutta in his absence was included in the list of accused.

On the failure of all these schemes, the German Government ceased to support the Committee, and B. N. Dutta remained in Berlin.

In May 1919 Dutt went to Moscow in connection with Mahendra Pratap's Mission to Afghanistan. He returned to Berlin in June and joined the University. At this time he belonged to a "Pro-India Society" in Berlin, of which other members were Chatto, Champakaraman Pillai, Mahendra Pratap and some Germans.



In October 1920 he went to Stockholm, and attended a Conference with Chatto and Dasgupta, to decide on the future action of the Indian Revolutionary Party in Europe. At this Conference it was decided to look for support from C.P. of Russia. After some correspondence, Dutt, Chatto and others went to Moscow in June 1921 to attend a meeting of representative Indians in Europe held by the 3rd International. The expense of this visit was defrayed by the Soviet Government. At Moscow disagreements arose between B. N. Dutta and Chotto's party on the one hand and M. N. Roy on the other. The 3rd International eventually decided to support M. N. Roy who could be relied upon to carry out their orders and discarded Dutt and Chatto, who were looked upon as Nationalists rather than Communists.

Dutt and Chatto then returned to Berlin where they continued to maintain the Committee revolutionary Indian. As a means to raise funds, and also as a means of getting in touch with Indians coming to Germany they started an Indian News Service and Information Bureau, the object of which was ostensibly to assist Indians in obtaining educational facilities in Germany.

In 1922 B. N. Dutt established an Indian Labour Bueau with Abani Mukherjee as Secretary, and approached M. N. Roy with a proposal that they should join forces. Roy would not agree to join them, nor to subordinate himself to Chatto and Dutt.

In November 1922 Dutt and Mukherjee joined the Russian Relief Committee in Berlin, and collected funds from Indians for this purpose, Dutt also started an Indian Independence Party with Barkatullah as President. This party published a Seditious newspaper entitled "India Independence", of which two editors were B. N. Dutt and S. N. Kar. This paper eventually stopped for lack of financial assistance and owing to the death of S. N. Kar.

Since that time B. N. Dutt has been in poor circumstances and has supported himself by writing articles for the Indian Press. He also continued his studies at the University, and in August 1923 secured his degree of Ph.D. In February 1924 he was appointed German correspondent of the "Forward", the organ of C. R. Das in Calcutta.

F. 421

No. 17/Bol/24

Dated 28th July 1924

*Sub : Re. appeal filed by Cawnpore Prisoners*

My dear Ross Alston,

The U. P. Government has informed the Home Deptt. and the U.P., CID, have informed me, that the Cawnpore Prisoners have entered an appeal. I am instructed to ask you to let me know, as soon as possible, what orders have been passed in the matter—in particular, the date on which the appeal will be heard and the constitution of the Bench that will hear it.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd. C. KAYE

Allahabad  
1.8.24

My dear Kaye,

Your D/O 17/Bol/24. This much is definitely settled about the appeals in the Cawnpore conspiracy case—they will not be heard before the last week in October, when the Court will reopen after the vacation. If Mears is back he will have the right to decide the question, what Bench should hear the appeal, Walsh's direction to the office are therefore provisional. He thinks that three judges should form the Bench and has suggested Mears, Piggott and an Indian. But the sentence being 4 years each makes the appeal one that would ordinarily go before one judge, and Mears may say that he sees no reason for treating the case in an exceptional manner, and direct it to be placed before a single judge. The documents relating to the main case" will be printed and appear at a "Paper Book".

Yours sincerely  
CHARLES ALSTON

P.S. The appeals may of course not be heard in the last week of October but in the first week of November. But they will not be heard *before* the last week of October.

Sd. C. A.

F. 437

Subject:— *Sources from which Comintern obtains funds*

This document is the property of his Britannic Majesty's Govt.

Russia

Oct. 13, 1924

Confidential

Section 2.

(N 7864/172/38)

No. 1

Mr. Hodgson to Mr. Macdonald

(Recd. Oct. 13.)

(No. 924 Confidential

Moscow, Oct. 13, 1924

In obedience to the instructions conveyed in your telegram No. 309 of 22nd September, I have the honour to submit such information as I have regarding the sources from which C.I. obtained it means subsistence.

2. The belief held almost universally in Russia, as well as in abroad, is that the "Comintern" is supported by the Soviet Government. Indeed this proposition would be axiomatic were it not for M. Chicherin's occasional pronouncements denying its veracity. While I have nothing in the way of documentary evidence to prove that the conviction so generally held is justified, such evidence as there is, even though it is mainly of a negative nature, would certainly appear to confirm that the Soviet Government, if it does not act directly as the Cashier to the "Comintern" is so closely involved in the financing of that body that it cannot escape responsibility for its actions. The fact that the Commissariat for Finance presents reports to the Congress of the C.I. is significant of the nature of the relations which exist between the two.

3. The Soviet Government and the "Comintern" owe their existence to one and the same organisation, namely the Russian Communist party. The first was formed in November, 1917, the second in January, 1919. And the circumstances of their origin account for the contradictions which are to be found in so many of the actions of the Soviet Government. The "Comintern" is the instrument which the party has fashioned for the purpose of bringing about through world revolution, the universal dictatorship of the proletariat: the Union of Soviet Republics, is the image in whose likeness the world—when the efforts of "Comintern" have been successful to be recreated. In the meantime, the Soviet Government has to maintain relations of compromise with the government systems which it is designed eventually to replace, and necessity demands that it should from

time to time adjure dependence upon its parent organisation and refute charges of undue intimacy with the "Comintern". But no one takes these protestations seriously; nor is it possible to do so in face of indiscretions of Zinoviev, who on behalf of the Communist party, claims responsibility for the police of the Soviet Government.

4. Were it not that the "Comintern" had good reasons for screaming outside criticism, the origin of its resources, it is inconceivable but that it should proclaim them to the world. This would be its obvious duty towards the Soviet Government which a little candour on its part should be able to save from being harassed by such influential detractors as Mr. Hughes. The fact that America refuses to converse with the Soviet Government largely on account of the maleficent activity of the "Comintern" is without any doubt extremely prejudicial to the interests of the Soviet Government, which, were it on friendly terms with the U.S. would be able to establish commercial relations of a nature to assist it in restoring the industries of Russia. Yet the "Comintern" obstinately refuses to render to the Soviet Government a service which is so clearly due to it.

5. Clearly it is within Russia that the 'Comintern' derives its revenues, for there is no source abroad from which it could receive subventions of any importance, whereas it is able not only to maintain a large and costly organisation in Russia, but also to subsidise groups in other countries. That it has frequently sent assistance to revolutionaries in India is denied by none. And it is common knowledge that the abortive Communist movement in Germany last autumn was financed at great expense by Moscow. Great Britain, Bulgaria and Norway, among others, are understood to have received largesses from time to time, and the amounts involved to have been very considerable.

6. In the earlier days the problem was a simpler one than it is now. T. U. the signature of the Trade agreement, Indian and other Asiatic revolutionaries were received regularly at the Commissariat for foreign affairs, often saw M. Chicherin or Mr. Karakhan personally and at the Commissariat were given money and food cards. At that time, too, the representatives of the Soviet Government acted more frankly as agents of C. I. But this procedure was attended by obvious disadvantages. The Foreign Commissariat refused as from 1921 onwards to

have any further direct contact with the Indian revolutionaries, who have from that time on financed exclusively by the 'Comintern'. M. Chicherin had to point out to "Polit Bureau" that the interests of the Russian State were prejudiced by the fact that its agents in foreign countries had both legal and illegal duties to perform, and that by indiscreet discharge of the latter they compromised their ability to carry out the former.

7. There is no reason to believe that relations between the Soviet Government and the Comintern are any less intimate now than they were in those days, but elaborate measures have been taken to disguise their nature. Occasional slips, of course, occur, as when, in the telephone book, "the train of Zinoviev, President of the Third International" appears among the departments of the Council of People's Commissaries, or when the "Krasnaya Zvezda" alludes to the Red Army as being the army of "Comintern". But, generally speaking, the measures taken have been efficacious in concealing the true state of affairs and the task has been simplified by the creation of a number of new organisations such as the "Professional International", the "Peasant International", the "International Society for Assisting Revolutionaries" and others, which have considerable funds at their disposal obtained by contributions levied upon the pay of members of the C. P. and the various trade unions. That the funds so collected could, in fact, cover such large expenditure as Comintern consistently incurs I find it impossible to believe, while I am sceptical as to the use to which the sum of £10,000,000 which appears as "Reserve funds" in the state budget is put, but, beyond conjectures based on strong probabilities. I am not in a position to demonstrate the connection of one phenomenon with the other.

I have  
R. M. Hodgson

## NOTES

MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

### Page 1

*Advance Guard*. Communist Party of India founded at Tashkent brought out its organ *Vanguard of Indian Independence* on May 15, 1922. Police began to seize its packets sent to various addresses in India. Muzaffar Ahmad asked M. N. Roy to change the name of the paper to escape the notice of the police. Roy changed the name of the above paper to *Advance Guard*. It also attracted the notice of the Police. It was then decided to revive the old name but in the meanwhile the nationalist revolutionaries after their return to Germany from Moscow brought out a paper named *Indian Independence* under the editorship of Benoy Kumar Sarkar. So *The Vanguard*, Central organ of the Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist International) began its publication from May 15, 1923 from Germany.

Chattopadhyaya, Virendranath, eldest son of Dr. Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya, Principal and Professor of Science in Nizam's College, Hyderabad. He matriculated at Madras University and did B.A. from Calcutta University. Went to England in 1902 and entered twice for the ICS examination but failed both times. Took prominent part in revolutionary activities in London, Paris and other parts of Europe. In 1921 started the Indian News and Information Bureau. Prominent in late twenties, joined the Communist Party of Germany. Joint-Secretary of the League Against Imperialism and for National Freedom. He went to the Soviet Union after the advent of Nazism in 1933 and was granted Soviet citizenship. In 1936 or 1937 he was employed in the Museums of Ethnology in Leningrad University.

Chattopadhyaya was opposed to the formation of the Communist Party of India and wanted to carry on the work in India through a Revolutionary Board.

Chattopadhyaya is said to have written many articles and pamphlets but none of them are available in India or in England. He knew over a dozen languages. He passed away in January 1941 (*Life and Myself* by Harindranath Chattopadhyay, Bombay, 1948, p. 218). A. Volsky has published *Memoirs of Virendranath Chattopadhyay* (in Russian) from Leningrad in 1969.

### Page 3

Baku Conference (Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East)—held in September 1-8 according to a decision of the Second Congress of Communist International (19 July to 7 August 1920). Abani Mukherji participated in this conference along with some Pathans from Peshawar who had deserted from the British India army. Kaye is wrong when he writes that M. N. Roy attended this conference.

Mukherji, Abani—son of Trailokyanath Mukherji of Calcutta. Learnt weaving in an Ahmedabad cotton textile mill. Worked in textile and

jute mills. Further training in this craft in Japan in 1910. Worked as apprentice in factories in Berlin, Leipzig and Neidergebrat. Employed in Andrew Yule & Co. (Bengal) in 1913. Was to work as director of the textile department of Prem Mahavidyalaya (Vrindavan, U.P.) but the department not being opened he acted as the secretary of the founder. Went to Japan in 1915. Detained in Singapore on his way back with some message from Rash Behari Bose. Confessed and was released on parole. Left for Europe. Contact with M. N. Roy. Attended II and III Congress of C.I. as India's representative in 1920 and 1921 respectively. Attended Congress of Toilers of the East at Baku. Member of the Communist Party of India founded at Tashkent on 17 October 1920. Expelled from C.I. Joined Indian Independence Party (Berlin). Sent to India as their representative, posed as a representative of C.I. though he was working against it. He was joint signatory with M. N. Roy to the Manifesto of the CPI addressed to the delegates of the Ahmedabad session of INC. He was given citizenship of the Soviet Union in 1925. Earlier nefarious activities came to light in 1937 leading to his execution. Intelligence Department considered him to be 'a self-opinionated scoundrel.'

#### Page 5

Roy, Mrs. Evelyn (née Trent) *alias* V. Garcia *alias* Mrs. Helen Ellen, *alias* Santi Devi of Los Angeles (California, U.S.A.) married M. N. Roy about 1917. Considered by Intelligence Department to be more clever and capable than her husband. Left Mexico with Roy in January 1920 under the name of V. Garcia. Founder member of the Communist Party of India formed at Tashkent in October 1920. Endeared herself among the *muhajirins* and others by her work and human qualities. Contributed numerous articles to Communist publications for India. A prolific writer of Communist propaganda pamphlets. After Roy's expulsion from Paris, was responsible for the production of *The Masses of India*. Separated from Roy in 1925 and divorced him in 1926. Received an alimony of ten thousand dollars. On return home she married again and is still living. Ungrateful Roy does not mention her name even once in his *Memoirs*.

#### Page 6

Benoy Kumar Sarkar, born in Malda District (West Bengal, India) in 1887. Took active interest in the anti-Partition agitation of Bengal. Taught in National Council of Education. Travelled in twenty countries of the world during 1914-25 and 1929-31 and delivered lectures there. He was sympathetic towards the nationalist revolutionaries and edited their journal from Berlin. He published free translation in Bengali of F. Engels's *Origin of Family, Private Property and State* and P. Lafargue's *Evolution of Property* (both from the original) in 1926. He joined the Calcutta University as a lecturer. In mid-thirties' he was sympathetic towards the Nazis. Sarkar died in U.S.A. during the second lecture tour of the country in 1949. He was a voluminous writer having some seventy books and five hundred papers to his credit.

Cantor, Robin, *alias* Rucin Kantor. Said to be a Russian. Arrived in Colombo as a stowaway, in September 1922. Prosecuted and sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment under Section 6 of Ordi-

nance No. 12 of 1907/1921. Released on 20th September 1922, and while arrangements were being made for his deportation, eluded the Ceylon Police and reached Madras. He was sent back to Colombo under the Foreigners Act on 11th October 1922. Left Colombo for Port Said on 21st October 1922. Police suspected him to be a Bolshevik sent by M. N. Roy.

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Bhattacharji, Ram Chandra, of Nadia District (Bengal) Interned 11th September 1916 and released 23rd May 1918. One of Roy's *chelas* in Europe.

Joffe, son of Dr. Abraham Joffe, Moscow. He was the nephew of Adolf Joffe, the first Soviet Ambassador to Germany (1919). He worked in Turkestan, Persia and China.

**Page 8**

Basu, Rash Behari, son of Binod Behari Bose, of Subaldah, Burdwan (Bengal). Prominent leader of nationalist revolutionaries of Punjab and U.P. till he absconded in 1915 to Japan from where he continued his activities. In the 1930s he openly propagated the cause of Japanese imperialists and supported Japanese aggression of China. These activities of Bose were severely condemned in the Indian press. During the second world war he organised the Indian National Army and collaborated with Subhas Chandra Bose.

Sailendra Nath Ghose, of Jessore (now in E. Bengal). Active in the nationalist revolutionary movement since the first world war. To avoid arrest escaped to America and became a leading member of the Indian Revolutionary Party. Arrested in New York in connection with the San Francisco Conspiracy case. He was organising secretary of the Friends of Freedom of India. Later secretary India Freedom Foundation, New York. Being loose in money matters, he forfeited the confidence of many of his Indian fellow-workers. Returned to India before the second world war and was employed in the Calcutta Corporation.

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*Aj*, Hindi daily of Benares founded in October 1920 by Shiva Prasad Gupta, a friend and patron of B. K. Sarkar. Sampurnanand too was connected with this paper. Baburao Vishnu Paradkar, a nephew and disciple of Sakharan Ganesh Deuskar, was its first editor.

Ghulam Hussain, M.A., Khilji Pathan, of Mohalla Khojian, Gujrat (Punjab). Lecturer in Edwards Mission College, Peshawar. Went to Kabul at the call of his friend of college days, Muhammad Ali. Accepted Marxism there and agreed to work according to C.I.s programme. Joined North-Western Railway Workers Union at Lahore and edited *Inquilab* (Urdu) and did some party work in Punjab. In June 1923 made prisoner under Regulation III of 1818. Made lengthy confessional statements to police in jail. Gave evidence against Muhammad Shafiq of the Peshawar case. Appealed to the Governor-General on 24 January 1924 for pardon and so he was not prosecuted in the Kanpur Communist Conspiracy case.

*Inprecor* is an abbreviation of the *International Press Correspondence*, the weekly organ of the Communist International. It was pub-



lished in other European languages also. Through this journal the C.I. maintained connexion with its various sections. The origin of the idea of goes back to 1847 when Marx and Engels founded the Communist Correspondence Committee at Brussels.

Khusi Mahamed *alias* Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi *alias* Ibrahim *alias* Dr. Nair, etc., son of Jan Mahomed of Nawanshahr, Jullundur district (Punjab). Studied in Lahore Government College, entered Lahore Medical College. In February 1915 crossed the border in the company of fourteen other students. In intelligence records they are mentioned as mujahid students. Khusi Mahomed joined anti-imperialist Indian party in Kabul and in March 1916, was sent by Mahendra Pratap and Mahomed Barakullah on a mission to Russian Turkestan with letters to the Tsar and the Russian Governor-General at Tashkent. He was a Major-General in Obeidullah's 'Army of God' and in 1919 during the third Afghan war was active at Chamarkand. He was a founder member of the Communist Party of India formed at Tashkent in 1920. He worked at Kabul and for in many countries of Europe on behalf of the Party. In 1924 he arrived in Pondicherry, and met R.C.L. Sharma. In February 1924 he was ordered to leave by the French authorities and embarked for Antwerp. In June 1925 he was working at Marseilles in the despatch to India Communist literature. In 1927 along with M. N. Roy and Clemens Palme Dutt he was a member of the Foreign Bureau of the CPI, with headquarters in Paris. During the occupation he was done to death by the nazis. He remained faithful to the cause till the end.

#### Page 11

Abdul Hafiz, Dr., of Lahore. Went to England in 1904, friendly with Har Dayal and India House people. Returned to India in 1909 but went back to Birmingham next year. Visited Germany and America, but returned to Germany on the outbreak of the war. Joined Berlin Committee of Indians. Expelled from Switzerland in 1915. Went to Constantinople in 1916 to take charge of the branch of the Berlin Committee. Sentenced in *contumacium* in June 1916 in the Zurich Bomb Case to four years' imprisonment and a fine of 2.00 francs. Went to Afghanistan in 1920. Intelligence report says that he was in touch with the Soviet Government there. Later visited Berlin and Vienna. At his request in 1923 from Holland, his brother applied on his behalf to Government for permission for him to return to India. He was not allowed to return.

Barkatullah, Muhammad, son of Munshi Shaikh Kadratullah of Bhopal. Worked as tutor at Khandwa and Bombay. After visiting America and Britain more than once, reached Japan in February 1909 and was appointed a teacher of Hindustani in the University of Tokio. Visited Constantinople, Cairo and St. Petersburg in 1911. Resumed publication of his *El-Islam*. [Islamic Fraternity]. He was in close contact with Indian revolutionaries working abroad. The British officials got him dismissed from Tokio University on 31st March 1914. Barkatullah joined Yugantar Ashram (San Francisco) and worked with the Ghadar Party. Accompanied Turko-German Mission to Kabul in 1915. Visited Russia in 1919 and interviewed Lenin along with Mahendra Pratap and

others. Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of India formed at Kabul on December 1, 1915. President of the Indian Independence Party (Berlin). Wrote a pamphlet asking Islamic people of Asia to support the Soviet Government. In 1925 published *Al Islah*. Ghadar Party delegate to the League against Imperialism and Colonial Freedom conference at Brussels where Jawaharlal Nehru met him. Died on January 5, 1928 in U.S.A. Barkatullah was a consistent revolutionary nationalist throughout his life, wielded a facile pen and was a fine speaker.

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Chamanlal—Bar-at-Law, son of Diwan Bahadur Daulat Rai, C.I.E., pleader of Rawalpindi. In England, during the first world war, attended meetings of the Workers Welfare League of India. Representative of WWLI in India. Actively supported the North-Western Railway Strike of 1920. One of the founders of the All-India Trade Union Congress (1920) and later its secretary. In July 1922 started the *Nation* which survived only a year. In October 1923 he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly. He was a delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925. While in Europe avoided contact with Communists and refused invitation to visit Moscow. British Indian intelligence department considered him to be 'an arrant poseur and a born opportunist.' He wrote *The Coolie: the Story of Labour and Capital in India*. 2 vols., Lahore, 1932.

Mota Singh, Master, of Patara, P.O. Jullunder Sadar, District Jullunder, Punjab. Convicted and sentenced in the Lahore Leaders' Case to transportation for life, which sentence was subsequently remitted under the Royal Amnesty in 1920. Took prominent part in political agitation after his release. A staunch Akali and a member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. On warrant of arrest being issued in 1921, he visited Kabul in June of the same year where he came in contact of the Communists. Sentenced in 1922 to transportation for five years and an aggregate of three years' rigorous imprisonment under Sections 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code.

Russian Trade Delegation -Decisions of the Allied Supreme Council of January 16 and February 24 (1920) was considered by Moscow. The Centrosoyus (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Co-operatives) in Moscow appointed the following as their empowered trade representatives in London—Leonid Borisovitch Krassin; Maxim Maximovitch Litvinov; Victor Pavlovitch Nagin; Solomon Zakharovitch Rokovsky, Litvinov was appointed Chairman of the delegation. L. B. Krassin was in London in 1922.

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Tosche, Richard, born at Riga, Latvia, arrived at Calcutta as a stowaway on a German steamer in July 1921. He was arrested and escaped from the prison van. He was captured, tried and sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment under the Merchants' Shipping Act, and to two months for escaping from custody. After release he was deported to Shanghai in November 1921.

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Mahomed Akbar's full name was Mahomed Akbar Shah. He hailed from village Badraahi, Nowshera tehsil, District Peshawar,

N.-W.F.P. Left India during the Hijrat. Studied at Tashkent, joined the Communist Party and returned to India via Persia. Prosecuted in the Moscow Conspiracy Case at Peshawar in 1923. Sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment on May 18, 1923. On his release passed B.A. from Peshawar College and Law from Aligarh Muslim University, and practised at Nowshera. He did not do anything for the Party. In 1940 Shah joined Subhas Chandra Bose's Forward Bloc. It is said that he helped Bose to the Frontier safely into Afghanistan.

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**Ashe Murder Case.** About midday on June 17, 1911, Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly (Tamil Nadu), was shot in a railway carriage at Maniyachi junction in the Tinnevelley district, by a young man named Vanchi Aiyar, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department, who committed suicide a few minutes later. Ashe died about 20 minutes after he was shot.

**Atmashakti**—a Bengali weekly started in March 1922 by some leaders of the Yugantar section of Bengal revolutionaries. Upendranath Banerji was its editor and Amarendranath Chattopadhyaya was its manager. It was printed and published by Bhubaneswar Guha from the Cherry Press Ltd., 93/1A, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

G. V. Krishna Rao, of Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, first Indian biographer of Lenin (1921). Edited *Navayugam*. Recipient Soviet Land Nehru Award. Died April 29, 1971.

Nilakanta Aiyer, son of Sivarama Krishna Aiyar of Ernkkur. From 1908 to 1911 he travelled in the Madras Presidency under the name of Nilakanta Brahmachari delivering nationalist revolutionary speeches. He was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in connection with the Tinnevelley conspiracy case (Ashe murder).

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**Dhumketu**, a Bengali bi-weekly first published on August 12, 1922. Gave impetus to nationalist revolutionary movement. Qazi Nazrul Islam the editor was convicted under Sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in the *Dhumketu* sedition case on 16th January 1923. Nazrul was not a member of the Communist Party.

Nalini Bhusan Das Gupta of Beldakhan, of District Bakarganj (East Pakistan). Made statement against Sasanka Hazra of the Rajabazar Bomb Case in June 1914. Worked in a munition factory in Britain from 1914 onwards. Visited Moscow in 1921 in the company of Indian nationalist revolutionaries who were previously not known to him. Managed to pick up friendship with Roy by telling lies. Nalini came to India as Roy's emissary in December 1921 to contact nationalist revolutionaries who shunned his company. Met Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta and carried his name to Roy, i.e. C.I. thus establishing connexion between them. Muzaffar Ahmad arranged his passage money to for return to Europe. Visited India for the second time in June 1923 was arrested under Regulation III of 1818 on 20th December 1923. Sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment on 20th May 1924. Through the intervention of the police released on medical grounds on 3rd July 1925. Left for Europe in March 1927. After the rise of Nazism acted

as a British spy in Germany. After the outbreak of the second world war came to Calcutta and died in 1957. He was a liar, buffer and made many statements to the police. (M. Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India*, pp. 90, 101, 347, 369-75). Died Monday, January 21, 1957, at Calcutta.

Surendra Nath Kar, son of Nandakishore Kar, of Jogpetta, Faridpur District, East Bengal. Studied in the National College, Calcutta, and left for Japan in August 1910. In July, 1911, arrived in America and resided at Seattle. He was Secretary for the West America of the Hindusthan Association. He was closely connected with many accused persons of the San Francisco Conspiracy. Subsequently, in early twenties, he went to Berlin and worked with M. N. Roy. Later he joined the nationalist revolutionaries and edited their weekly organ *Indian Independence*. He died in 1923.

Vaillant-Couturier, P. (1892-1937)—Prominent leader of the French Working Class movement, writer, poet, publicist, permanent member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the C.P. of France (1921). Delegate to the III Congress of C.I. Editor-in-chief of the daily organ of the Party *L'Humanite* (1935-37).

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Charles Ashleigh, *alias* John Ashworth, *alias* Nandalal. In 1918 sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas, U.S.A., in connection with the Industrial Workers of the World strikes and riots in America, and for a violation of the so-called Espionage Act. Released and deported in February 1922 from America to the United Kingdom, where he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain. On Roy's request his services were lent to C.I. to carry passage money and instructions to India for the participants in the forthcoming fourth Congress of C.I. to be held in December 1922. After talks with Roy at Berlin, he left for India in August 1922 with instructions, money from Roy and letters of introduction to K. B. Roy, Muzaffar Ahmad and T. N. Roy. He travelled by the *Pilsna* for Bombay from Trieste. British Foreign Department came to know about his mission. India Government was asked to cancel Ashleigh's visa as soon as he landed in Bombay. Ashleigh landed on 18th September but there was no ship for Europe before the 22nd. So he stayed at the Tajmahal Hotel.

From there he went out by the back door and handed over the letters, documents and passage money to Dange without the police knowing about it at all.

Kaye is totally wrong when he writes "that Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta, had been warned by Roy of Ashleigh's impending arrival and had sent Jatin Mitter to Bombay, to escort him to Calcutta." A detailed account of Ashleigh's mission may be found in Muzaffar Ahmad's *Myself and the Communist Party of India 1920-29*, pp. 316-26, Calcutta, 1969. Charles Ashleigh lives in England.

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Kiran Behari Roy, of Bakarganj (East Pakistan) was a friend of Nalini since boyhood. They were in Great Britain at the same time.

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International Union of Revolutionary Trade \*Unions existed from

1921 to the end of 1937. This included the Soviet trade unions, Unitary Universal Confederation of Labour of France, national revolutionary trade union centres of Australia, Belgium, Holland, Indonesia, Canada, China, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Chile, etc.

This International Union played an important role in furthering the growth of democratic forces in international trade union movement.

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Amarendranath Chatterji, of Uttarpara (Hooghly). Active in the revolutionary movement since 1907. Due to lack of sufficient evidence could not be implicated in the Alipore Bomb Case. Editor of Arabindo Ghose's weekly *Karmayogin*. In October 1910 started the Sramajivi Samavaya 90/2, Harrison Road, Calcutta, with himself as Director and Secretary. It was a meeting place of revolutionaries, Basant Kumar Biswas who was executed in the Delhi Conspiracy Case was an employee in this establishment. He was connected with the so-called German plot in 1914-15. Remained underground for 7 years. Manager *Atmashakti* (1922-23). Arrested under Regulation III of 1818 in September 1923 and released on 16th March 1926. Started Karmi Sangha along with Upendranath Banerji and others. Detained in 1930s. Member of Central Legislative Assembly 1937-45. Joined Radical Democratic Party of M. N. Roy in 1945. Author of a pamphlet *What Next?* published from Delhi. Died 4 September 1957.

Banerji, Upendra Nath—of Chandernagore (Bengal). Sentenced to transportation for life in the Alipore Bomb Case in 1909. In Cellular Jail (Andaman) he gave a very damaging confessional statement. He was released in 1919 in consequence of Royal amnesty. He was an old friend of M. N. Roy and was in touch with him. He was the editor of *Atmashakti*, till his arrest under Regulation III of 1818, on 25th September 1923. Joined Hindu Mahasabha in 1949, was elected president of its Bengal branch in the same year. Died April 4, 1950.

Bipin Behari Ganguly, son of Akshay Nath Ganguly, of Halishahar, 24 Parganas and Calcutta. Connected with the nationalist revolutionary movement from 1907. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the Agarpara (24 Parganas) dacoity case in September 1915. Was imprisoned under Regulation III of 1818 on March 1924. Imprisoned again in the thirties and forties. Alderman Calcutta Corporation. Died January 14, 1954.

Jatindra Mohan Mitra *alias* Akram, of Dacca. A recruit of Nalini Gupta for training in Germany. Proved himself unworthy there. He attended the fourth Congress of C. I. in 1922. Returned to India in November 1925. He did not work for the Communist Party in India and hob-nobbed with the Anushilan Party. Secretary of State for India and the Indian Intelligence Bureau made much hullabaloo about this worthless man. In 1951 Muzaffar Ahmad helped him financially. He died sometime in the same year. Kaye is incorrect when he writes that M. Ahmad had sent Mitra to escort Charles Ashleigh to Calcutta. (M. Ahmad—*Ibid.*, pp. 258-261, 292, 321-322).

Muhammad Daud, M.A., B.L., later Bar-at-Law, Santipur (Nadia) and Calcutta. Secretary of the Indian Seamen's Association. A reformist trade union leader. Member Legislative Council (Bengal). Attend-

ed International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1926 as an official representative of Indian labour. Presided over the Jharia session of All-India Trade Union Congress. Daud is dead.

Sanyal, Sachindra Nath, of Benares (U.P.), and Santipur, District Nadia (Bengal). Founded Anushilan Samiti in Benares in 1908. To avoid hostile attention of the police authorities it was changed into the 'Young Men's Association.' In early 1913 he seceded from the Association and formed a new group. A close Associate of Rash Behari Bose, he was convicted in the Benares Conspiracy Case and sentenced to transportation for life on 14th February 1916. He was released early in 1920, in consequence of the Royal amnesty. He continued to be active in the movement. Arrested in February 1925 under Bengal Ordinance I of 1924. Was convicted under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, to two years' rigorous imprisonment in September 1925, for disseminating a leaflet entitled *The Revolutionary*. Was a leading member of the 'Hindustan Republican Association,' the object of which was to establish a 'Federated Republic of the United States of India' by an organised and armed rebellion. He was subsequently convicted and sentenced in the Kakori Conspiracy Case to transportation for life on the 8th April 1927. He was released in 1937 and joined the Forward Bloc on its foundation by Subhas Chandra Bose in 1940. He edited a Hindi daily from Benares. His most famous literary work in Bengali is *Bandi Jivan* (Prison Life) which has gone through several reprints and has been translated into Hindi and Punjabi. Sanyal died in 1944(?).

Suresh Chandra Majumdar, of Jasodal, P. S. Kishoreganj, Mymensingh (E. Bengal). Old and important member of Yugantar.

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Chauri Chaura, village and police station, 15 miles to the East of Gorakhpur (U.P.). On 4th February 1922 two thousand volunteers and peasants were fired at by the police causing some casualties. In retaliation people raided the police station killing all (20) but two police. The police station was burnt down. 228 men were sent up for trial. 172 of the accused were condemned to death in the lower court by H. E. Holme, the District Magistrate. In an appeal to the High Court 38 were acquitted, 19 death sentences were confirmed, and all the remainder were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The Executive Committee of Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern) issued an appeal to all workers against the death sentences. (*Inprecor* III, No. 48, p. 378, March 1923).

The Indian National Congress was terrified and thought that the agrarian discontent was developing into a revolution. Gandhi demanded that the non-cooperation movement should be immediately called off. On February 11 and 12 an extraordinary session of the Working Committee was called at Bardoli (Gujarat). It adopted a resolution expressing indignation at the violence and called for the suspension of the civil disobedience movement throughout the country. Inter alia it condemned the 'popular atrocities' and tendered its 'sympathy to the families of the bereaved' policemen. Popular militant actions of masses in Madras and Bombay were also condemned. Congress leaders like C. R. Das, Motilal, Lajpat Rai condemned Gandhi's decision to with-

draw the civil disobedience movement. Some of them went so far as it to call it an act of treachery on the part of Gandhi. This becomes all the more clear from the following confession of Gandhi recorded by poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya in his autobiography. "Gandhiji at the Belgaum Congress [1924] while seated in a tent, surrounded by leaders including Ali Brothers, remarked to the younger 'Shaukat, (sic) if I had not called off the Civil Disobedience Movement, for which people blame me, you and I would not have been sitting here today.' I was there, I heard it. It was most revealing!" (*Life and Myself*, vol. I. p 191, Bombay, 1948).

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Mylapore Singaravelu Chettiar, B.A., B.L. Son of Venkatachela Chettiar, of Madras and a fisherman by caste. He was born about 1875. He was an advocate in the Madras High Court but gave up his practice during the non-cooperation movement. From 1922 onwards he took part in labour movement and has been called a 'notorious agitator' in intelligence reports. He was attracted towards the Communist Party of India founded abroad. He was a member of the A.I.C.C. and at the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress he supported the programme addressed to this session from abroad. In the beginning Roy had a high opinion of Chettiar but later on he was convinced that he was 'a person well meaning but stupid and humbug' (Letter of September 1923). Like Dange Chettiar was not an internationalist Communist. He refused Roy's invitation to attend a conference in Europe. He was arrested in March 1924 in connexion with the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Owing to his illness the case was, however, withdrawn against him and the warrant cancelled. Government took steps to withdraw the case against Chettiar, but Singaravelu could not wait; he tendered 'unqualified apology' to the police." (M. Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India*, p. 408). Chettiar presided at the Indian Communist Conference at Kanpur in December 1925, expressed his desire to dissociate himself from the Comintern and foreign Communists generally. Chettiar died in 1945.

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*India's problem and Its Solution*, pp. 55, 1923.

*India in Transition*; with collaboration of Abani Mukherji, Geneva, J. B. Target, 1922, pp. 241. This book was written by Roy in Moscow. Lenin went through the manuscript. The first chapter—The Rise of the Indian Bourgeoisie—is based entirely on materials collected by Abani Mukherji. There are many errors in the data collected by Mukherjee. The authors borrowed the title from Agha Khan's book of the same title published in 1919. A reprint of this book has been published from Bombay early this year. This also includes *What do we want*.

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Chittaranjan Das (1870-1925). He sympathised with and assisted nationalist revolutionaries and defended a large number of political cases in Bengal the most notable being the Alipore Bomb Case (1909). At one time a staunch follower of Gandhi and outstanding leader of the Non-Co-operation movement in Bengal, but afterwards broke away from them and formed the Swaraj Party. Took a leading part in labour orga-

nisation. M. N. Roy was in touch with Das before he left India. He says that Das remained emotionally a revolutionary. Roy attracted by Das's words like "I want Swaraj for the ninety-eight per cent." "I do not want to substitute white bureaucracy by a brown bureaucracy." He regarded Das "as the incorporation of the spirit of revolt against the imposition of an essentially anti-revolutionary leadership upon an objectively revolutionary movement. Roy wrote to him a few months before the Gaya Congress that the Congress must choose between reformism and revolution." Roy's messenger who carried his letter to Das found him sympathetic to the suggestion. The verbal reply, transmitted through the messenger remained Roy's secret. He writes that the reply "enabled me to have a deeper insight of the man and I was left with an impression none too encouraging. I had advised him not to get deeply involved in the No-Change versus Pro-Change controversy. I had approved of the plan of discarding the negative plan of boycott and of contesting the elections with the object of capturing the legislatures. The debacle of non-cooperation movement, and the retreat ordered from Bardoli had left the country completely disorganized. Some form of political activity was necessary, if complete disintegration was to be avoided. From that point of view, the plan to capture the legislative councils had its merit. But that alone could not take us very far, and if it did take us far, that would be entirely in the wrong direction of reformism. I warned C. R. Das of that danger, and suggested a comprehensive plan of action in which the parliamentary programme was allotted a minor place.

"The plan of action received a tremendous publicity on the very eve of the Gaya Congress, thanks to a mischievous move on the part of the Reuter's Agency. The object of the imperialist purveyor of news was to unearth the underground connection between Moscow and Calcutta residence of the President of the National Congress. The Anglo-Indian papers triumphantly declared that at last the source of Mr. Das's subversive propaganda had been discovered. The source, of course, was Red Russia. It seems that the sudden assault succeeded in unnerving Das. His presidential address at Gaya, though couched in a defiant spirit, was an anti-climax. The plan to capture the legislative councils with the purpose of ending or mending dyarchy the central place of programme he presented to the country. As a matter of fact, it was the whole of the alternative programme. Das found himself in a minority, and founded the Swaraj Party....it swallowed up the whole Congress." Gandhi himself gave the party and its orthodox programme his blessings. "But the success of the Pro-Changers was not so much due to any intrinsic merit of their programme, than to the utter bankruptcy of the Bardoli constructive programme by which the No-Changers swore." The Swaraj Party had opened for the first time the perspective of complete independence, formulated India's "National Demand" as Dominion Status within the British Empire. "That was the inglorious end ..... The Faridpur speech [of Das] is an unworthy epitaph for the impetuous rebel of Indian politics." (M. N. Roy—*Men I Met*, Bombay, 1968).



In his Gaya address Das while formulating the broad principles he said :

"Swaraj is indefinable, and it is not to be confused with any particular system of Government. Swaraj is the natural expression of the national mind and must necessarily cover the whole history of the nation."

At Faridpur, he defined Swaraj as Dominion Status within the British Empire. Das favoured Dominion Status because: (1) it brings material advantage; (2) it affords complete protection; and (3) it provides all the elements of Swaraj. (Faridpur Speech).

#### Page 36

Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin, 1888-1938, Russian Communist Leader and active Marxist propagandist. Joined the All-Russian Social Democratic Labour Party at the age of 18. In 1908, he was co-opted to the Moscow Bolshevik Committee.

For his revolutionary activities, he was arrested in 1911 and deported to Onega but he fled to Germany. After staying in Cracow (Poland), Vienna, Switzerland and in the Scandinavian countries, he arrived, in 1916, in New York under the false identity of Dolgolevsky. Here he edited a Russian Communist paper, *Novyi Mir* (New World). After the Russian revolution, Bukharin returned to Russia. The 6th Congress of the RSDLP elected him as a member of the Central Committee in August, 1917 and he was the editor of *Pravda* from the end of that year. In March 1919, he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Comintern) at its first Congress in March 1919.

In 1924, he became a member of the Politburo of CPSU(B). Later, in Nov., 1929, for factional activities was stripped of his Comintern and party appointments and expelled from the Politburo.

However, he played a leading part in drafting the constitution of 1936. In 1937, he was arrested for anti-Party anti-State activities, put to trial and finally shot dead on March 14, 1938.

#### Page 39

Rattan Singh, *alias* Santa Singh, *alias* Isher Singh, son of Nihal Singh of Raipur Doaba, P.S. Banga, District Jullunder, Punjab. He emigrated in 1914 to Fiji Islands and from there went to Vancouver. In 1920-22 he took active interest in the Ghadr Party and collected funds for it. Left the Yugantar Ashram of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco in 1922 and lived in New York. Went to the Soviet Union with Santokh Singh. He was prosecuted by the immigration authorities in the U.S.A. in July 1925. Returned to Europe and then came to India. He wrote *A Brief History of the Hindustan Gadar Party*, San Francisco, 1929. It was submitted by him as the Party's delegate to the Assembly of the League Against Imperialism on 27th July, 1929 at Frankfurt on Main.

#### Page 40

M. Raskolnikov, a lieutenant in the Imperial Russian Navy before the revolution. After revolution commander of the Baltic Fleet. Left this post to become a member of the Revolutionary Military Council Soviet of the Russian Republic. When plan of M. N. Roy's going to Kabul as Soviet Ambassador was dropped and Borodin too could not

go, Raskolnikov went there as Soviet Ambassador. As an old Bolshevik he participated in the Kronstadt uprising of the Navy, which signalled the insurrection in Petrograd. During the Civil War, he rose to the position of the Commander of the Volga Flotilla, which defeated the British in the Battle of the Black Sea. His wife too was an equally heroic lady and fought by the side of her husband. Raskolnikov was Commander of the Baltic Fleet when he was called upon to take up a diplomatic post (*Memoirs of M. N. Roy*, pp. 415-17). In Kabul he helped the Communist cause to the best of his opportunities. Lord Curzon, the British Home Secretary, demanded the recall of Soviet representatives at Kabul and Tehran. The Soviet Government were willing to recall these or any other officers if their guilt were "established by both governments" as a result of joint examination, but this proposal "pre-supposed full and unconditional reciprocity". The final decision in this dispute was taken at a meeting of the British Cabinet late on June 12, 1923. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Prime Minister despite the opposition of Lord Curzon, decided to accept the last Russian reply as satisfactorily terminating the dispute. Next day the British Foreign office sent a Note to Leonid Borisovitch Krassin, the official representative of S.U. in London, which, after recapitulating the points settled, concluded thus :

"His Majesty's Government now understand that, in accordance with the normal arrangements governing the movements of members of the Russian diplomatic service, the transfer to another post of M. Raskolnikov, against whom the main charges have been made, has already been decided on. The obstacle which his continued presence in Kabul presents to friendly intercourse will thus be removed" (Cmd. 1890, pp. 12, 13, 14). The Soviets on their part, five days later, June 18, replied welcoming the last British Note and agreeing that "the correspondence may be considered at an end."

Later Raskolnikov worked in the Eastern Section of the Comintern. Raskolnikov wrote numerous articles on the Eastern Question with special reference to Afghanistan. He died in 1938.

#### **Page 43**

Gaya Manifesto of C.I.—Roy wrote to Dange on November 2, 1922 about the need of a programme for rousing the masses for struggle. It was drafted by him and approved by C. I. It was published in the *Advance Guard*. The Indian police had information that a programme would be sent to India and they were able to intercept it. Reuter telegraphed it to Indian papers from London on 20th December. Many dailies published parts of it along with a few lines about Roy but *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published it almost in full on 22nd December.

#### **Page 47**

Sarkar, Mukandalal. Born 31st December 1885 in Nadia District Bengal. Had some connexion with the nationalist revolutionary movement in Bengal but was never active in this sphere. He had correspondence with M. N. Roy and others. He was one of the founders of the Bengal Trade Union Federation (1925) which became Bengal branch of the AITUC. He later joined the Forward Bloc. Sarkar died on 23rd October 1955.

**Page 49**

Bhat, Dr. K. S., of Karkul, South Canara (Mysore). Went to England in 1916-17. Member of the Workers' League of India, Indian Seamen's Union, National Minority Movement etc. President of the Workers' Welfare League of India. Mixed with Sapurji Saklatvala and others of the CPGB. Delegate for WWLI to the Brussels Conference of League against Imperialism and Colonial Freedom and to the National Minority Movement Conference.

Pickthall, Marmaduke, son of the Rev. Charles Pickthall, Rector of Chillesfer, Suffolk, England. Educated at Harrow, an author and journalist by profession. Became a convert to Islam in 1918 and was for some time under the pan-Islamic influence. He was appointed editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1920 but resigned in 1924. He was interested in the Khilafat movement. In November 1924 he was appointed lecturer of Islamic College, Hyderabad. He was sympathetic towards the Communists. Left for England in March 1927. He published an explanatory translation of the Kur'an under the title *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* which has gone through over a dozen impressions. It was dedicated to the Nizam.

**Page 50**

Bhupati Majumdar, of Guptipara, Hooghly, belonged to Yugantar Party of Bengal revolutionaries. Imprisoned under Regulation III of 1818 during the first world war and again in September 1923. Imprisoned again in 1930s and forties. Was Minister in the Congress Governments in West Bengal. Though had connexions with M. N. Roy, he never became a friend of the Communists.

Biswas, Baidyanath, of Nadia District (Bengal). Member of Bepin Behari Ganguly's Yugantar group. General Secretary, Bengal Trade Union Federation founded by Mukundalal Sarkar. Biswas was politically a man of suspicious character. He was turned out of the Kanpur Conference of Communists. M. N. Roy corresponded with Biswas for which Muzaffar Ahmad took him to task.

**Page 53**

T. N. Roy, Dr., of Calcutta. Had connexions with Nalini Gupta and M. N. Roy.

**Page 55**

Habib Ahmad *alias* Nasim, of Shahjahanpur (U.P.). Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in the spring of 1920. Joined training school at Tashkent and later received further training at University of Toilers of the East, Moscow. On his way back to India was arrested at Chitral. Tried in the Peshawar Conspiracy Case under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in May 1923. Released in April 1924. After his release worked for some time for the Party at Delhi.

**Page 56**

*Daily Herald*, started and edited by George Lansbury. Daily since March 1919. Financed by the British TUC general council and the Labour Party since 1922.

Georgii Vasil'evich Chicherin (1872-1936), the Soviet State leader and Diplomat. Starting his career as an employee of the Archives Department

of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin started taking active part in revolutionary activities and was therefore asked to emigrate to Germany. In Berlin, in 1905, he joined the local organization of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. He also took active part in the activities of the French Socialist Party and in the International Youth Movement. At the time of the First World War, he was in London, where he took part in the British Labour Movement. However, for these activities of his, he was arrested in 1917 and then banished from England. On returning to Russia in January 1918, he became a member of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and was appointed Deputy Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs, R.S.F.S.R. From 30th May 1918, he was appointed Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs, RSFSR. During his tenure as Commissar of Foreign Affairs, he was responsible for conducting negotiations with the border countries—Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan—and concluding the famous Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Turkish and Soviet-Afghan agreements of 1921. He was also the leader of the Soviet delegation to the Lausanne Conference of 1922-1923 on Near East problems.

**Page 56**

Indian Independence Party was formed by Muhammad Barakatullah in collaboration with the nationalist revolutionaries in 1922 in Berlin.

**Page 60**

Shamsuddin Hassan, son of M. Imamdin Kashmiri, of Lahore City. Member of Lahore group of Communists. Maintained touch with prominent Communists and with M. N. Roy. Provincial Secretary, All India Trade Union Congress in Punjab. Organiser Punjab Labour Board. Took prominent part in the North-Western Railway strike in 1925. Participated in the Indian Communist Conference held at Kanpur in December 1925, and was appointed its Provincial Secretary for Punjab. In October 1926, started the *Khawar*, from Lahore.

**Page 64**

Sharma, Ram Charan Lal, *alias* Ram Chand *alias* Har Charan Lal *alias* Ghulam Saban, of Etah (U.P.). An associate of well-known Bengal revolutionaries in the first decade of this century. Sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment in connection with the Urdu journal *Swaraj* of Allahabad under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, in 1909. Released in 1918. In July 1920 he was prosecuted under Section 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and a warrant was issued against him. Fled to Pondicherry to avoid arrest. He thrice sued for pardon but was refused. He was one of the accused in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, but was not tried, having fled to Pondicherry. Made contact with M. N. Roy who regarded this as most valuable. Roy sent Sepassi to contact Sharma in 1924. Sharma believed in individual terrorism and Roy tried to convince him through his letters that this was not the correct path. In Pondicherry he was convicted on September 1, 1926, for having assaulted a constable of the British Indian Police and sentenced to pay a fine of 35 francs with 16 days' imprisonment. The execution of the sentence being held in abeyance under the French *loi de sursis* (law of reprieve). He is now dead.

**Page 65**

Mandayam Parthasarathi Tirumalal Acharya or Mandayam Prativadi Bayanlian Acharya. Originally of Mysore but family settled in Madras many years ago. Born about 1887, son of M.P. Narsimha Aiyar. From August to November, 1907, was registered printer and publisher of left nationalist Tamil paper *India* of Madras. When the press was removed to Pondicherry in July, 1908, on the arrest of the editor, Acharya signed papers as proprietor until he left for England in November 1908. In London he was a resident member of the India House, and was intimate with V. D. Savarkar and V. V. S. Aiyar. In October, 1909, he went to Paris where he associated with leading nationalist revolutionaries. He visited Germany and Turkey during 1910-11 and crossed over to America in 1912 but kept himself in touch with Indian revolutionaries in Europe.

After living two years in New York he went on to Berkeley, California, where he associated with the Ghadr Party. In 1915 he made his trip to Berlin. Worked with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and others there. He visited Afghanistan with Abdur Rab. Went to Russia and met Lenin along with other Indians. He was one of the first seven members of the Communist Party of India founded at Tashkent on October 17, 1920. He was not on good terms with Roy who considered him to be an Anarcho-Syndicalist. He is said to have been employed in translation work for Communist propaganda in India. He returned to Berlin at the end of 1922 with his Russian wife. He called himself a member of the Fourth International. He worked in the League Against Imperialism. Much later he returned to India and settled down at Bombay, where he died in 1967.

**Page 66**

Satya Dev Swami, *alias* Sat Dev *alias* Sukh Lal, of Ludhiana, Punjab. Born in mid-1880s he went to America in 1905. On his way back to India in 1911 went to Paris and met Indian revolutionaries there. In 1921 was convicted under Section 188, Indian Penal Code, and fined in connection with the Begar (anti-forced labour) agitation in the Kumaun District (U.P.). In May 1923 he left for Europe for eye-treatment and again in 1927 for the same purpose. Later he visited Germany in 1934, 1939, 1956. He is said to have met M. N. Roy and other Indian revolutionaries in Germany but had nothing to do with the Communist movement in India. He wrote several books in Hindi including an account of his fifth visit to Germany in 1956. He is no longer alive.

**Page 68**

Jibanalal Chatterji, told me that he could not join Anushilan Samity of Dacca due to its hostile attitude towards the Muslims. Later joined Yugantar. Detained under Regulation III of 1818 in 1917, but was released in 1919 under the Royal amnesty. In 1922 worked for a few months with Muzaffar Ahmad. Corresponded with M. N. Roy. Arrested under Regulation III of 1818 in September 1923. After release of M. N. Roy in 1936 he joined him. Later founded Democratic Vanguard which is now named Workers Party of India. Chatterji died on December 1, 1970.

Rahmat Ali Zakaria *alias* Ibrahim Yahya *alias* Gour Lack, of Gujran-

wala, Panjab, one of the fugitive students who went to Kabul. A Lieutenant-Colonel in Army of God also Minister for Communication in the Provisional Government of India formed at Kabul. Went to Soviet Union in 1919, participated in and addressed the III Congress of the Turkestan Communist Party in 1919. He attended many Communist Conferences in the Soviet Union in 1922-23 and worked with Roy in the Eastern Section of Comintern. He was also a writer. His article *Krestianskoe dvizhenie v Indii i indiskoe krestianstvo* (The Peasant movement in India and the Indian peasantry) was published in the *Krestianskii International*, No. 2, May 1924, pp. 58-70. His doctoral dissertation for the Sorbonne University, was published under the title *Contribution à l'étude du conflit hindou-musulman* (Paris 1933).

**Page 68**

Shaukat Ali, senior of the Ali Brothers of Rampur (U.P.) He was a Sub-Deputy Agent in the Opium Department and retired about 1912, and took leading part in Muhammad Ali's pan-Islamic propaganda through press and platform. He was appointed one of the secretaries of the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* (Society of Servants of the Kaaba, the shrine at Mecca) formed at Lucknow in May, 1913. After the passing of the Defence of India Act in March, 1915, he was interned along with his brother at Chhindwara (M.P.)

**Page 70**

*Bombay Chronicle*—A daily founded by Phirozeshah Mehta in 1913 with Benjamin Guy Horniman as editor.

**Page 71**

Keshav Nilkant Joglekar, early friend and colleague of S. A. Dange, Member A.I.C.C., Secretary B.P.C.C., Member of the "Indian Communist Defence Committee" which organised defence and collected funds for an appeal in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Edited '*Socialist*' for six months after Dange's conviction. An accused in the Meerut Case. In later life quarrelled with Dange and joined the Forward Bloc. Later he was in the Right C.P.I. and was a trusted man of Dange. He died on 20 November 1970.

**Page 73**

*Labour Monthly*, famous journal edited by the British Communist Rajani Palme Dutt since 1921.

**Page 76**

*Servant*, a daily edited by Shyam Sundar Chakravarty (1869-1929).

The Servant Publishing Co. Ltd. began its publication in 1920.

**Page 83**

Narayan Subarao Hardikar, Dr., of Hubli, district Dharwar. Prominent agitator during the Swadeshi movement. Left for America for studies in 1913, and returned in 1921. In America was a member of the Hindustan Association of America and the Indian Home Rule League. Involved in the Indo-German scheme to send arms to India. Since his return to India he took a close interest in the Non-co-operation movement. Responsible for starting the "Hindustani Seva Dal," under the Indian National Congress. Associated with many

nationalist revolutionaries. Later turned to communalist politics. Founder of the semi-fascist Rastriya Svayamsevak Sangh (R.S.S.).

**Page 86**

Ajoy Banerji—an official of the International Oriental Seafarers Union. He hailed from Bhagalpur (Bihar). He is alive and lives at Cambridge (U.K.).

**Page 88**

Dip Narain Singh, Bar-at-Law, of Bhagalpur (Bihar), presided over a session of Bengal Provincial Political Conference before 1912 at Berhampore (Bengal). Prominent Congress leader of his time participated in the Home Rule Agitation with Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu. Joined non-co-operation movement in its early stages. Death condoled at Lucknow session of INC (1936).

**Page 90**

Mit Singh, of Pandori village, Ludhiana District, Punjab. Sent by Ghadr Party of America to India with money for Akali Sikhs. Took part in the Akali Movement, was appointed Jathedar at Muktesar and was arrested, and sent up for trial in the Akali Conspiracy Case at Lahore, and was later released.

**Page 93**

Formation of Communist Party of India took place on 17 October 1920 with the following members : (1) M. N. Roy, (2) Evelina Trent Roy, (3) Abani Mukherjee, (4) Rosa Fitingof, (5) Mohammad Ali (Ahmad Hasan), (6) Mohammad Shafiq Siddiqui and (7) M. Prativadi Bayankar Acharya. (For details see M. Ahmad—*Myself and the Communist Party of India, 1920-29*, 45-70, Calcutta, 1970 and *M. N. Roy's Memoirs*, pp. 464-67, Bombay, 1964).

Also see *Foreign Communists in Turkestan* (in Russian) by I. S. Sologubov. Tashkent, 1961.

**Page 99**

Sen, Indu Bhusan, of Rupganj, Dacca. A Bar-at-Law and left nationalist agitator. He corresponded with M. N. Roy and Evelyn Roy. He is no longer alive.

**Page 101**

Tom Bell (1882-1940)—Scotch foundry worker. Founder member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, member of its Central Committee and Political Bureau. Delegate to the III, VI and VII Congress of Communist International. Chairman of Society of Friends of the Soviet Union and Britain (1930-31).

**Page 102**

Chakravarty, Gopendra Krishna of Lauhajang, Dacca. Member, Anushilan Samity, detained in 1917 under Regulation III of 1818. Released in 1922. Recruited by Nalini Gupta on his second visit to India for training in Moscow. Reached Moscow secretly in 1924 but could not be admitted to the University of the Toilers of the East. Returned to India in early 1925. He was one of the accused in the Meerut Case. In 1957 he met his Russian brother-in-law in Calcutta through my help and is serving in the Moscow Radio as a Bengali announcer

for the last few years. He is now circulating cock and bull stories about his nine-months' stay in the Soviet Union. (*Youth Review*, 1969).

**Page 104**

Senf, Paul, a Communist of Hamburg, who went to Marseilles in March 1924 and lived with Sabiani, a Communist Municipal Commissioner. He was a writer and contributed to Communist periodicals. He published *The Vanguard* in Marseilles for M. N. Roy.

**Page 105**

Hugo Espinoza *alias* Rogers *alias* Roschkis *alias* Abdul Rashid said to be a German-Russian Jew who claimed to be a native of Libau, Latvia. Prior to his arrival in India he was in America, Japan and China. Said to have been concerned with Rash Behari Bose in a plot to smuggle arms into India. Arrived in Calcutta on 28th September 1924 and was arrested on the 8th November. Was detained in jail for years under the Bengal Ordinance of 1924.

**Page 105**

Kesho Ram Sabarwal *alias* Kesho Das *alias* Kaura, son of Tara Chand Khatri, of Andarshahr, Peshawar City, North-West Frontier Province (West Pakistan). He was bound over for good behaviour for three years on account of his connexion with the revolutionary movement in Punjab during the first world war. Left India in 1915 and settled in Japan where he became secretary to Rash Behari Bose. He was cognisant of the Indo-German conspiracy in the Far East. He was indicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case, but went into hiding to evade extradition. He was refused passport by the British authorities in India to return to this country.

**Page 106**

Sharma, Krishna Gopal, of Jhansi (U.P.). Worked as an Arya Samaj preacher and was the cause of Hindu-Mahomedan trouble in 1915. Later he became a non-cooperator. He was in close touch with Ajodhya Prasad of Jhansi and Ram Charan Lal Sharma. He was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment in August 1925, under Section 20 of the Arms Act.

**Page 106**

Vasudev Hari Joshi of District Colaba Maharashtra. He was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment in the Mulshipetha Satyagraha Campaign in 1923. During the Kanpur Case and later after Dange's release Joshi acted as his private secretary. During the Meerut Case he tried to go to Moscow to contact Communist International, but was arrested in Bombay. Later there was a quarrel between them and their relation ended. Joshi is no longer alive.

**Page 109**

Besant, Annie Wood (1847-1933) - English theosophist and social reformer. Advocated free thought and reformist socialism. In 1889 became a disciple of Mme Blavatsky. Settled in India and worked in the Indian National Congress. During the first world war started the Indian Home Rule along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Presided over the 1917 session of Indian National Congress. President of the Theosophical Society, after 1907, wrote much on her new found religion and on India.



In 1926-27 she introduced her protégé, Jiddu Krishnamurti, in England and America as the new Messiah. She never supported the cause of nationalist revolutionaries or the communists but rather stood for the suppression of the latter.

**Page 123**

Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov (Party nickname: Andrei), (1885-1919). One of the distinguished organizers and builders of the Communist Party and Soviet State. From 1917, he was the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. From November 1917, he was also the President of the All-Union Central Executive Committee. Many places in U.S.S.R. are named after him.

**Page 124**

"*Krasnaya Gazeta*"—A paper (in Russian) published in Leningrad (Petrograd) from 1918 to 1939. Its first editor was Commissar V. Volodarsky. From Feb., 1918 to April, 1919, an evening edition of the paper was also being regularly published. Again, from 26th September, 1922 to 15th May, 1936, two editions—a day edition and an evening edition—were being brought out. From 1936 onwards, only one evening edition was published.

**Page 128**

Zafar Hasan, son of Hafiz Azim-ud-din, of Arain, Karnal (Haryana, India). He was one of the students who fled across the border in 1915. Was a Lieutenant-Colonel in Obeidullah's 'Army of God'. Issued a number of anti-British leaflets during the Afghan War of 1919. Went to Moscow after expulsion from Kabul in 1922 and attended the fifth Congress of Comintern. Returned to Kabul later on and helped Roy in his correspondence with Ghulam Hussain of Lahore. In April 1925 he and Obeidullah issued their Programme of Mahab[h]arat Sarvarajia Party. When living in Constantinople (now Istanbul) helped Teja Singh Sutantar and contributed articles to the leftist journals in India.

**Page 130**

Is it Sergei Dimitrievich Mstislavsky (1867-1943), the well-known Russian Soviet writer.

A participant in the revolutionary movement, his writings of the 20's show a great influence of the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie.

Some of his famous novels are :

- (1) *Roof of the World* (1925).
- (2) *In Blood* (1928).
- (3) *On the Eve*; 1917 (1940).

**Page 151**

Klara (Clara) Zetkin (1857-1933)—German socialist, feminist, and finally Communist. Educated at the Leipzig Teachers' College for Women, she became a socialist under the influence of a Russian revolutionary, Osip Zetkin (1848-89), whom she married.

Having joined the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1881, she took part in the Paris Convention of 1889 which founded the second International.

In 1892, she started editing the Socialist Women's newspaper *Gleichheit* from Stuttgart.

Joined the newly formed Communist Party of Germany in 1919 and became a member of the Reichstag from 1920. In 1921, she was elected to the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

From 1924, she started living in Moscow. She was a great admirer of Lenin and of the Soviet Union and also wrote her reminiscences of Lenin.

#### Page 151

Maksim Maksimovich Litvinov (1876-1951) - one of the seniormost members of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, Diplomat. Joined Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1898. For his revolutionary activities, he was arrested in 1901. However, he escaped from the jail and emigrated abroad where he lived upto 1918. He was actively associated with the propagation of Lenin's paper *Iskra*, and he also collaborated in the publication of the first legal Bolshevik paper "*Novaya Zhizn*" [New Life]. In 1907, he was the member-Secretary of the Russian delegation to the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. In 1918, he was appointed as a Member of the Board of Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. In 1919, he was sent to Stockholm with peace proposals to all the countries then fighting against RSFSR. In 1921, he was appointed Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. In 1922, he led the Soviet delegation to the Hague Conference. In December of the same year, he presided over the Moscow Conference on Disarmament, which was attended by RSFSR, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Finland. In 1927-30, he was the leader of the Soviet delegation to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. From 1930 to 1939, he was the Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs. In 1941, he was appointed Ambassador to U.S.A., with the rank of Dy. Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs. He remained on this post for about two years (1941-1943).

In October 1942, he was also concurrently accredited to Cuba. On his return from U.S.A., Litvinov worked as the Deputy Peoples' Commissar of foreign affairs from 1943-46. In October 1943, he took part in the Conference, held at Moscow, of the foreign ministers of U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and England.

At the 17th Congress of the party (1934), he was elected member of the Central Committee of all-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). He was also a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. Honoured with the Order of Lenin and Order of Red Labour Banner.

#### Page 154

Tarak Nath Das, (1884-1950) son of Kalimohan Das. Member of the Anushilan Samity from 1903, took a leading part in the formation of the Dacca Anushilan Samity. Worked in South India under the pseudonym of Tarak Brahmachari, political guru of Chidambaram Pillai. Left India in 1906. Went to San Francisco via Japan and entered the University of California, at Berkeley, as a student. He was in the employ of U.S. Immigration office at Vancouver as an interpreter. Left this job and went to Seattle. In July 1908 brought out *Free Hindusthan* from there. In September 1908 entered the Norwich University, North-

field, Vermont to receive military training. Left it at the end of the winter term of 1908-1909. *Free Hindustan* continued publication from New York and it came to an end in 1910. Close friend of Har Dayal, Harnam Singh, Bhag Singh Canadian, Shailendranath Ghosh, Surendranath Kar, and all the leaders of the Ghadr and Indian revolutionary party in America. Became secretary to the Hindustan Association of Chicago in 1914. Arrested in connection with the attempt to smuggle arms and ammunition into Canada for conveyance to India by the passengers of the '*Komagata Maru*'. Shortly afterwards went to Germany and was sent to the Suez Canal region for propaganda work. Returned to America via China and Japan, where he did anti-British propaganda work. Convicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy case and sent to jail in 1918. Said to have become sympathetic towards communism after his release from jail. Prominent member of the well-known society in America called "Friends of the Freedom of India", and regularly published anti-British pamphlets under the heading "India News Service". In 1921 was said to be the organiser of a plot to convey revolutionary Indians to and from America and to send arms to India via Singapore. Later his activities confined mainly to the publication of anti-British articles in the Indian and Foreign Press. In later life he turned pro-American and anti-Soviet. Besides editing Benoy Kumar Sarkar's *India in America* (1949), he wrote (a) *India's Position in World Politics* (1922); (b) *India in World Politics* (1924); (c) *Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes* (1924); (d) *British Expansion in Tibet* (1927); (e) *Rabindranath Tagore: his religious, social and political ideals* (1932); (f) *Indien in der Welt politik* (1932); (g) *Foreign Policy in the Far East* (1936).

#### Page 170

Vatslav Vatslavovich Vorovsky (1871-1923), a leader of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, Soviet Diplomat, and Literary Critic. An active revolutionary, he was connected with the establishment of Lenin's paper *Iskra*. He was also the joint editor, with Lenin of papers like "*Vpered*", "*Proletarii*", etc. From 1917 to 1919, he was the Ambassador of R.S.F.S.R. to Scandinavian countries. From 1919-1920, he worked in the Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. From 1921-1923, he was Ambassador to Italy. He was also a member of the Russian delegation to Lausanne's conferences. However, on 10th May, 1923, he was killed in Lausanne by a whiteguard agent of British imperialism.

#### Page 211

Fedor Aronovich Rotshtein (Rothstein) (1871-1953), Academician, historian and a Communist leader. Joining the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1901, he took active interest in revolutionary activities, for which he had to emigrate to England. In England, he participated in the establishment of the Communist Party of Great Britain (1920). On his return to Russia in 1920, he was appointed as Ambassador to Iran (1921-1922). He was also elected as a Member of the Socialist Academy of Social Sciences and as a Member of the Presidium of the Communist Academy. For some time, he was also the Director of the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies. An

erudite scholar, Rothstein, in 1939, was elected as a Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. He was also one of the seniormost members of the Editorial Board of the *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia). He has, to his credit, a number of books, which include :

- (1) *Essays on the History of Labour Movement in England* (1923).
- (2) *Two Prussian Wars* (1945).

Both these books are, of course, in Russian.

#### Page 215

Nikolai Aleksceovich Voznesensky (1903-1950), an outstanding party and Soviet State leader. Joined the Communist Party in 1919. In 1921, he was sent to the Communist University for training. After completing his education and training there, he worked for the party in Donbass up to 1928. From 1928, he joined the Institute of Economic of red professorship (?). Later, he joined the Commission of Soviet Control. In 1935, he shifted over to Leningrad where he worked as the Chairman of the Town Planning Committee and Dy. Chairman of Leningrad Town Council. From 1938, he was the President of Gosplan, U.S.S.R. he held the position right up to his death. Was twice awarded the Order of Lenin.

#### Page 230

Satyabhakta — born in mid-nineties of the last century. He hailed from Bharatpur (Rajasthan). His real name is Chakan Lal. Took part in the non-cooperation movement, carried on business of photograph of Congress leaders at Allahabad and lived for sometime in Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram (Ahmedabad). He edited *Pranvir*, a Hindi journal from Nagpur. Corresponded with S. A. Dange after the publication of his *Socialist*. He issued some socialist pamphlets from Nagpur and later from his 'Bookshop', Patkapur, (Kanpur). His name was included in the list of the accused in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case but name struck off. He announced the formation of his self-styled Indian Communist Party at Kanpur in September 1924. In 1925 he issued his 'The Future Programme of Indian Communist Party' and 'The First Indian Communist Conference'. Communists rejected his views and he left the Conference when it met. After a few days he tried his hand to start a National Communist Party which had nothing to do with communism as such. 'National Communism; Beware of False Friends', in *The Masses of India* (Paris), vol. 2, No. 9, September, 1926 by M. N. Roy was written against Satyabhakta. Satyabhakta now lives at Mathura (U.P.).

#### Page 230

Gauhar Rahman *alias* Havildar Gauhar Rahman *alias* G. R. Darweshi, of village Darwesh, District Hazara (N.W.F.P.). Left India during the Hijrat movement in the spring of 1920. Got training in Tashkent. Later went to Moscow for further training. Left Moscow in 1922 for Bokhara. Found his way *via* Gulbar, Jalalabad and Sarkani to Jamrud (N.W.F.P.). Surrendered and was arrested at Peshawar. Tried in the Moscow Conspiracy Case (i.e., the First Peshawar Conspiracy Case) and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 121-A, IPC on May 18, 1923. He edited *Mehnatkash*, a Urdu weekly from Lahore.

All the efforts of the British Intelligence service could not identify Afzal. Now it has been revealed by Com. Muzaffar Ahmad (*Myself and the Communist Party of India*, p. 190) that Afzal is no other than Gauhar Rahman himself.

**Page 234**

Santokh Singh *alias* Nihal Singh *alias* Bham Singh, of village Dadher Singh, Police Station Beas, District Amritsar (Punjab) went to England in 1912 and thence to New York and Stockholm. Was Secretary of the Khasla Diwan and Assistant Secretary of the Ghadr Party. He was prominent among the Ghadrates in Thailand during the first world war. Returned to U.S.A. and was tried and convicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case. Visited Soviet Union and attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. In 1923 was arrested in Independent Territory of North-West Frontier Province and was eventually released on security to be of good behaviour. Attended the Kanpur Session of India National Congress in 1925. Edited *Kirti*. Died in 1927.

**Page 251**

Masood Ali Shah, of an Afghan family which helped the Britishers during the first Afghan war, Beumont of British Intelligence Service, family expelled from that country and granted *jaigir* at Sardhana, district Meerut, U.P. (India). He joined the *Hijrat* movement in 1920. At Tashkent he was made a candidate member of the newly-formed C.P.I. on December 15, 1920. He visited Moscow. Though some *muhajirs* suspected him to be a British spy, he was a pet of M. N. Roy and Evelyn Roy. He returned to India via Iran with Shaukat Usmani in late 1921. Returned to Moscow in 1922 by way of Iran. Attended 4th Congress of C. I. as an observer (November-December 1922). Returned to India and again visited Soviet Union in the company of his bosom friend Shaukat in late 1928. He was liquidated there. (M. Ahmad—*Myself and the Communist Party of India*, pp. 297-98, 445-466, 450-51).

**Page 255**

Is it E. Ya. Fainberg, the Soviet historian and orientalist, who studied the problems of the mutual relations of U.S.S.R. with the neighbouring countries of the East. One of the well-known works of Fainberg is the *Russian-Japanese Relations in 1697-1875* (in Russian).

**Page 336**

"*Krasnaya Zvezda*"—a daily paper (in Russian) of military and socio-political interest. Central organ of the Ministry of Defence, U.S.S.R. Published in Moscow from 1st January 1924.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

**Page 11**

Obeidullah, Sindhi *alias* Buta Singh, son of Ram Singh, Chianwali village, Sialkot District (Punjab). Embraced Islam, reached Sindh, educated in Deoband School, where he became a teacher but his for

rising influence and differences with the staff was compelled to leave in 1913. Tried to contact Bengal revolutionaries (Sanyal—*Bandi Jivan*). Went to Kabul in 1915 and became most active of the "Silk Letter" conspirators. Originator of "Army of God" scheme. During Britain's Afghan War in 1919 issued many leaflets in support of Afghan independence against British imperialism over his signature as Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of India. Attempted to send arms to India. Collaborated with Raskolnikov, Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan. Reached Moscow December 1922. Had close contact with the Wahabis of Chamarkand. Published conjointly with Zafar Hasan a pamphlet entitled "Programme of the Mahabharat Swarajya Party." Visited Hedjaz in connexion with revolutionary work. Reached Kabul October 15, 1915, kept in jail but released after the arrival of the German-Turkish Mission. One of the organisers of the Provisional Government of India at Kabul. Organised Kabul branch of the Indian National Congress. Expelled from Kabul in 1922, lived in Moscow for 7 months. Reached Turkey and lived there for 3 years. Lived in Mecca. Allowed to return to India November 1, 1937 through the efforts of Allah Bux, Prime Minister of Sindh and the INC. After his return to India in 1939 started the Ganga, Jamuna, Sindh Party. Died August 21, 1944.

#### Page 15

*The Independent* started in first quarter of 1919 from 18 Kutchery Road, Allahabad. Owned by Motilal Nehru. Supported Home Rule for India, Congress-League Reform Resolutions adopted by the Special session in Bombay.

#### Page 16

*Vartman*, Hindi journal published from Kanpur. Editor Ramashankar Avasthi. He wrote life of Lenin and another book in Hindi. Avasthi died July 13, 1959.

#### Page 17

*Gandhi vs. Lenin*. By S. A. Dange, published by the Liberty Literature Company, Bombay, 1921.

"My own Foreword" written by the author is dated April 1921. So it may have been published in the same month or in May.

The following review appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle* on Monday, June 13, 1921. It was written by Khushal Talaksi Shah of the Bombay University :

Mr. Dange's excellent little volume of compact thought is marred by the slight defect of a somewhat acrimonious vein running through the "Foreword" by the author himself. We hasten to add that the Foreword, because it is acrimonious, is none the less accurate. The picture of the hack-writer's woes is harrowing indeed and that of the great "Leader" writing the preface is disgraceful in proportion. But, perhaps, it would have been more in consonance with the great, thought-provoking theme which he has undertaken, if he had in this work at least, omitted any reference to this human weakness.

The book opens with a well-thought out genesis of the present-day society and its dominant feature, the Class War. The inevitable con-

distribution of wealth,—is quite truly regarded by the author as explaining the present cleavage between the classes and the masses. And those of us who can see at the bottom of the mischief will realise, with Mr. Dange, that the hostility between the “Haves” and the “Have-Nots” is likely to be more embittered, more cruel than any blood feud of which history can tell us. He has selected for analytical study two of the foremost fighters against this evil of the age. The comparison between Gandhi and Lenin is on the surface not quite obvious; for while the one is eclipsing even the “Gentle Jesus” in *his meekness*, humility, charity and self-sacrifice, the other seems to have identified himself with the militant proletariat. Gandhi suggests more easily Buddha under the Upas tree. Lenin calls up the picture of a warrior, armed in panoply, scaling the walls of a mighty citadel and waving from its topmost turrets the blood-red banner of victorious proletariat. Mr. Dange’s analysis is summarised on page 37 of the book which lays out in tabular form Gandhi’s and Lenin’s conception of the origin of our social sore, the remedies suggested by each and the steps by which each would realise the ultimate aim. While according to this analysis, Gandhi considers modern civilisation, especially modern industrialisation and the consequent vices of humanity as the origin of all our social evils, Lenin would rather ascribe it to the seizure of the means of production by the capitalists, the inequality of wealth and the consequent impoverishment of the proletariat who form the majority of humanity. To Gandhi, therefore, the only acceptable remedy seems to lie in a wholesale destruction of modern industrialism,—the entire negation of the spirit of modern civilisation and modern mechanism, Lenin believes the cure to lie in making the modern spirit to work for the common good of humanity as distinguished from the present day exclusive benefit of the capitalist class and its willing tools. Lenin says : “Seize the means of production, and keep the surplus value for the benefit of the community at large.” Gandhi would even destroy the surplus value as he finds the search for this unnecessary excess to be at the root of all avarice, meanness and class or race wars which follow in consequence.”

We need not trace this analysis further in the limited space of a cursory review. The book is at once a study and a challenge. The study is impartial and sympathetic, but it is none the less clear which way the author’s sympathies lie. Agreeing with him in the main in the analysis of the social evil, and accepting his thesis that the Mahatma is out to fight this evil under the thin pretence of a limited immediate goal, and that Non-Cooperation has a deeper economic, as it is claimed to have a deeper spiritual significance than what appears to its detractors or even to those who make of it a temporary political expedient—we cannot yet see eye to eye with the author in the practical possibility of the movement and its author. If the triumphs won by human intelligence over the brute forces of nature are to be prized—and we cannot identify all mechanical discoveries or inventions with the sordid commercial aspect of the same, though indeed that aspect is held too painfully prominent before our eyes to be forgotten even for a moment—we do not see any wisdom, any possibility of the ultimate good to

mankind by the absolute suppression of all surplus-value through intervention of mechanical labour. The charkha may have a political value, but economically it must necessarily stand at a discount as compared to the power driven machinery. And our preference for the latter is not because it enables the rich capitalists to enslave and grind down the proletariat, there can be no difference on this central question between Mr. Gandhi and his critics. It is rather because mechanical power enables humanity to obtain the same result in a shorter space of time with a smaller cost of effort than would be the case under hand labour. The ideal of self-sufficiency may be poetic; it is certainly not progressive. If it were accepted in totality the more material cares of human existence will prevent our race from developing those finer graces of life, from cultivating those rarer, nobler arts and sciences on which alone the ultimate salvation of the race must rest. This does not mean that the theory of the "leisured class" affords the only guarantee for the continuance and expansion of modern civilisation, nor does it necessarily involve an unqualified acceptance of the mechanical side of that civilisation. But we think the sum total of human achievement is yet infinitesimal to what it must be before the human race can be enfranchised from the domination of unknown forces of nature. If, now, the ideal of self-sufficiency is so far resuscitated as to demand of each man and woman and child the negation of all that makes modern life more comfortable if not happier, owing to the consuming demands of working to meet the individual's needs, there will be no progress in our race against nature, under which term we include all those forces which do not yet admit of human sovereignty. The removal of material inequalities, as Lenin would have it, is the first condition for the greater development of a larger number of souls. The end must therefore be identical for every social reformer who is at once genuine and radical. But the means, here contrasted leave one with an honest doubt whether the great saint of modern India is not making the common mistake of confounding an accident with an essential property of common evil. British dominion in India is an accident of our history. Capital drain is also an accident. But accidents even where they are invariable concomitants are not necessarily consequential as cause and effect. What is required is removal of the capitalist and of racial domination.—K.T.S.

#### Page 20

Shaukat Usmani, of Bikaner (Rajasthan). His real name is Maula Bux. Left India in during 1920 in connexion with the Hijrat movement, member emigrant section CPI in Moscow 1921. Returned to India in September, 1922 with the British Intelligence agent Masood Ali Shah. Met Muzaffar Ahmad at Calcutta on February 8, 1923. Arrested in Kanpur May 9, 1923. Sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment in the Kanpur Case on May 20, 1924, and was released on August 26, 1927. Left for Russia along with the British spy Masood Ali Shah in 1928 and reached Moscow just on the eve of the sixth Congress of Comintern. Elected delegate and member of the Presidium on forged credentials. Returned to India in December 1928 before his forgery could be detected. Surrendered to Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta in the



same year and confessed his guilt. Prosecuted in Meerut Conspiracy Case. Expelled from the CPI in 1932. M. Ahmad—*Myself* etc. (443-48, 449, 452-53 etc. He continued to hobnob with many parties and doubtful persons. Except enjoying romantic and adventurous foreign trips with the British spy he did little for the Communist cause. He is the author of the following books : (1) *Peshawar to Moscow : Leaves from an Indian Muhajireen's diary*, etc. 1927; (2) *Four Travellers*, 1950; (3) *I met Stalin*, 1953 etc.

**Page 36**

Kabakchiev, Chirsto (1878-1940). Bulgarian, joined CI in Second Congress, 1920 where he presented report on the Statutes of the C. I. Secretary Bulgarian Communist Party 1923. Arrested just after September 1923 insurrection. Released in 1926, lived in the Soviet Union. Member International Control Commission of C. I. Professor Lenin School and scientific worker Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute (now known as Institute of Marxism-Leninism), the Historical Institute, etc. Author of a book on C. I. (birth and development) on the tenth anniversary (1929).

**Page 37**

Radek, Karl (1885-1939). Born Galicia, real name Karl Sobelsohn (also pseudonyms Parabellum, Paul Bhemer, A. Struthahn). Member Central Committee Russian Communist Party. Secretary C. I. In charge of affairs of German Communist Party. In October 1923 he was in Berlin representing C. I.

**Page 43**

Humbert-Droz, Jules. C. I. Secretary. In charge of Latin secretariat (France, Italy, Spain, Portugal). Early 1930s Secretary Swiss Communist Party. 1932 suspended from leadership and finally expelled. Joined the Swiss Socialist Party, its Secretary-General until the end of 1950s. Humbert-Droz Archives set up in Holland.

**Page 47**

Manilal Maganlal Shah, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law (also known as Doctor Manilal), born about 1880 at Baroda. He could not get appointment in the education department of Baroda because of Aravind Ghosh. While studying law in Britain, he had relations with some of the prominent Indian revolutionaries but differed with them. Since 1907 worked for Indian immigrants in Mauritius and from 1912 in Fiji, where not appointed to Legislative Council on the plea of not being a British subject (Baroda was in princely India). Along with his wife led the militant strike of the PWD and municipal workers of Suva (Fiji) in January-February 1920, when warship was called from New Zealand. After the strike had ended Manilal was prohibited from living in the major areas of Indo-Fijian settlement, he left Fiji for India. Since 1923 identified with India labour matters. Corresponded with Socialists and Communists in India and abroad. His name was on the list of thirteen persons who were to be prosecuted in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case but was dropped. He was engaged to defend two of the accused. He is dead.

**Page 48**

Shapurji Dorabji Suklatvala, born March 28, 1874 at Bombay. His mother Jerbai was a sister of J. N. Tata, the founder of the noted

industrial house. Prior to going to England in October 1905 he was living in New York, where he associated with Indian revolutionaries. Joined I. L. P. at Manchester, 1909. He had relations with the Indian revolutionaries in London. One of the founders of Workers Welfare League of India, President Indian Seamen's Union affiliated to RILU, closely connected with People's Russian Information Bureau and League against Imperialism etc. Joined CPGB with left wing ILP in March 1921. Elected Labour M.P. for Battersea North in November 1922 and again in 1924. Toured India 1926-27, made bold speeches against imperialism and for Communist cause, challenged Gandhi and his ism. Intended to return to India in October 1927 to seek election to AICC but refused a visa. Tireless champion of Indian independence and the cause of British and Indian working-class. Held in high respect in India and Britain. Died January 16, 1936.

#### Page 48

Newbold, John Turner Watson, M.A., F.R.S.A., born May 8, 1888 Culcheth, Lancashire. Educated Manchester University; joined Fabian Society 1908; Independent Labour Party 1910; CPGB 1921, member Executive Committee, and C. I. 1922-23; M.P. Motherwell, and Wishaw Division of Lanark November 1922 to December 1923. Placed political career over the Party. Resigned from CPGB and CI 1924, and from Labour Party 1931. Author *How Europe Armed for War* (1871-1914); *Politics of Capitalism; Capitalism and War; Railways 1825-1925, Democracy; Debts and Disarmament.*

#### Page 58

Kuusinen, O. V. (1881-1964)—Leader Finnish Communist party and Comintern. One of the founder Finnish C. P. (1918). Secretary Executive Committee of Comintern, member and secretary of Presidium of C.C. of CPSU (1921-39). Deputy of Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. (1940). Author of a number of works on history of CPSU and international working-class movement. Member of U.S.S.R Academy of Sciences (1958).

#### Page 61

Kolarov, V. (1877-1950)—Prominent leader of the Bulgarian Party and Comintern. Secretary of C.C. Bulgarian Communist Party (1919-23). Member Presidium of Executive Committee of Comintern (1922-43). Eminent organiser of Resistance Movement during Nazi occupation of Bulgaria. After liberation of the country, elected Chairman of Bulgarian Great People's Assembly. Chairman Council of Ministers of Bulgarian People's Republic (1949-50).

#### Page 66

Mohamed Safiq, of Akora, tehsil Nowshera, Peshawar district (N.W.F.P.). Clerk in the irrigation department at Peshawar in 1919. Took part in the anti-Rowlatt Act movement, went to Kabul in May 1919. Crossed over to the lands of the Soviets in the company of Ahmad Hassan, Abdul Majid and Muhammad Sadiq. Elected Secretary of the CPI formed at Tashkent (1920).

Edited *Zamindar* (Peasant). Attended the Second Congress of the C.I., at Moscow in July-August 1920. Returned to India in 1921 but

went back to Seistan (Iran) and was arrested on the Indian border. Accused in the Second Communist Conspiracy case under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment on April 4, 1924. After his release Safiq and Shaukat Usmani procured passports at Karachi as Iranian subjects with the help of Masood Ali Shah, the British intelligence agent and went to Moscow under his leadership. The party arrived just when the Sixth Congress of the Communist International was going to begin. Usmani and Safiq were made delegates, Safiq stayed on in Moscow after the Congress and returned to India in 1932. (M. Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India*, 449-452).

**Page 73**

Dutt, R. Palme, born Cambridge, June 19, 1896, where his father was a medical practitioner; educated Perse School, Cambridge and Balliol College, Oxford; member ILP and National Guilds League; founder member CPGB; member executive Labour Research Department 1921-26; Chairman CPGB Commission 1922; married Salme Murrik; founder editor *Labour Monthly*; Author of many works on Indian, British and International politics.

**Page 76**

*Sarathi*, Bengali monthly, published by A. Roy, 203-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. First number published in Asādh 1327 Bengali era (May-June, 1920).

**Page 78**

*The Hindu*,\* started from Madras 1876. Still in circulation. Earlier of liberal views, now more inclined towards right reaction.

**Page 83**

Saifuddin Kitchlew (1888-1963) of Amritsar, B.A. and Bar-at-Law (Cantab), Ph.D. from a German University. Externed from Calcutta for a seditious speech, 1915. Uncompromising fighter for independence. Hero of Jallianwalla Bagh. President Punjab Provincial Congress Committee for many years. Front rank Khilafatist. Seconded complete independence resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru at session of Indian National Congress, 1929. Later President, All-India Peace Council and member Presidium World Peace Council.

**Page 97**

Pankhurst, Sylvia (1882-1960)—daughter Emmeline (Goulden) famous militant woman—suffragist leader. Participated in the movement led by her mother. Leader British Socialist Labour Federation. Her weekly *Workers Dreadnought* (originally *Women's Dreadnought*) was against the imperialist war (1914-18). She participated in Second Congress of Comintern. Her papers are in the possession of International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.

**Page 98**

Lansbury, George—Born 1859. Labour M.P., Bow and Bromley division, 1910-12, 1922-1940. A founder (1912) and editor (1919-23) of the *Daily Herald*. Leader of Labour Party opposition 1931-35.

**Page 98**

Maxton, James. Born 1885. Leader Independent Labour Party.

Imprisoned for a year during first World War. MP 1922, continued to represent the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow till his death in 1946. Wrote *Lenin* (1932) and *If I were a Dictator* (1935).

**Page 98**

McManus, Arthur. Belonged to Socialist Labour Party. Helped in the foundation of CPGB and elected its first chairman.

**Page 101**

Bell, Tom (1882-1944), son of a Scottish stonemason; member Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland of which he was president in 1918; joined ILP 1900; SDF 1903; greatly influenced by James Connolly (1868-1918), the Irish revolutionary leader, whom he knew personally; founder member SLP, editor *Socialist* 1919. National organiser CPGB. Author, *The British Communist Party* (A short history), 1937; *John Maclean, a fighter for freedom*, 1941; *Pioneering Days*, 1944.

**Page 123**

Sverdlov, Y. M. (1885-1919). Member of Communist Party since 1901. Prominent leader of CPSU and Soviet Government. Active participant in November Revolution 1917. Elected Chairman All-Russia Central Executive Committee, November 8, 1917.

**Page 124**

Herambalal Gupta, nationalist revolutionary from Bengal, during first world war worked in Burma-Siam Scheme for military training of Indians with the help of Germans. In 1914 he was in the Indian National Party of Champakraman Pillai. Worked with Rash Behari Bose in Tokyo in 1915. Travelled in China for purchase and despatch of arms to India. Since June 1916 worked in U.S.A. as chief collaborator of Germany which charge was handed over to a Committee of three—Birendra Sarkar, Herambalal Gupta and Chakravarty—by a letter dated Berlin, Feb. 4, 1916 of the Foreign Secretary of Germany. Arrested March 10, 1917 in connexion with the Indo-German Conspiracy Case, found guilty of conspiracy and violating the Neutrality of U.S.A., sentenced to eighteen months in prison and a fine of \$ 100 on both indictments. Died 1953 (?).

**Page 133**

Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar, born 1879 in Salem District (Tamil Nadu), joined anti-Rowlatt Act campaign 1919 and Non-cooperation (1920), edited Gandhi's *Young India* when he was in jail, General Secretary Indian National Congress 1921-22 and member Working Committee, of I.N.C. President INC after Kitchlew's conviction—Member Working Committee and President Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress till 1935. Elected to Madras legislature and Prime Minister in 1937. Resigned 1939. Resigned from Working Committee, was in favour of accepting Cripps' offer, opponent of vaccination. Never a sympathiser of Communists or communism in life, rather one of its declared enemies. Has written and compiled many popular books on religion and a few pamphlets, including *The Way Out* (1944) and *The Indian Communists* (1955).

**Page 133**

Liakat Husain, born about 1852, son of Mir Ali Khan, of Calcutta. Ancestors hailed from Patna district (Bihar). Prominent agitator in anti-Partition Movement in Bengal. Sentenced to three years' imprisonment

in January 1908. Released in 1910. He continued to take prominent part in the *swadeshi* movement.

**Page 135**

Mushir Husain Qidwai, Shaikh of Gadia, born about 1867, Barabanki District (U.P.). Pan-Islamist since his visit to Constantinople in 1905, when he was decorated with an order by the Sultan. Started with Abdul Bari, the Anjuman-i Khuddam-i kaaba. In November 1913, took leading part in attempt to create a rapprochement between the Mohammedans and the Hindus. Pro-Turkish during the first world war. Later wrote a book against the Bolsheviks *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism*, (London, 1937).

**Page 137**

Thomas, J. H. (1874-1949)—Railway fireman, engine driver. Secretary of State for Colonies 1924; Vice-chairman Parliamentary Labour Party; right-wing Labour Party leader. Author, *When Labour Rules*, 1920; *My Story*, 1937.

**Page 140**

Birchdranath Das Gupta—s/o. Ishanchandra Das Gupta, of Bidgaon, Vikrampur P.S., Dacca District. Born 13 May, 1888 at Jalpaiguri where his father was a pleader. Left school in protest of flogging of a student by the Headmaster for burning foreign cloth 1905-6. Came to Calcutta 1906. Admitted to National Council of Education school in 1906. Dhiren Sarkar was his contemporary student. Benoy Sarkar brought him to swadeshi. Left for U.S. for Engineering training on Council's scholarship in 1911. Studied in Wisconsin Univ. Got military training in the Univ. Could not stay there for long for want of money.

Did B.Sc. in Electrical Engineering from Pardu Univ., Indiana State. Came in contact with B. N. Datta in 1912.

Biren brought to Europe by Dhiren Sarkar. Joined Berlin Committee. Got military training there.

Left for Indian Afghan Frontier as Barkatullah's Secy. Could not reach destination as Persian Gulf occupied by the British.

Biren went to help the Egyptian nationalists who rose in revolt against British. Joined them in the Sinai Peninsula and fought Britishers having Constantinople and Jerusalem as headquarters. Biren a major in the Turkish army. He was with Jamal Pasha's 5th Army and fought for the defence of Suez Canal. Wounded in battle. Later brought to Switzerland for treatment by B. N. Dutt and Chatto where he passed 7 yrs.

Wrote many articles in *Nue Zurich Zeitung* on eco & political subjects.

Started Indo-Europe Trading Co. in collaboration with a German businessman resident in Switzerland, named Paul Shemel. It had its Calcutta branch as Indo-Swiss Trading Co.

Returned to India for a few months in 1924 but had to go back due to police trouble. In 1927 married and lived in Calcutta.

His Memoirs in Eng. of Sinai Battle is in London. Photostat is in Delhi. He is still alive.

**Page 141**

*Workers Dreadnought* was Sylvia Pankhurst's journal of the Workers' Federation.

**Page 137**

Muhammad Fakhir, Maulana. High Priest of Dayara Shah Alam, Allahabad. Prominent nationalist leader of U.P. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment in connection with the Non-coöperation movement. Courted imprisonment in 1930, 1932 and 1942. He was a member of the State Assembly and Council. He is no longer alive

**Page 143**

Bhupendranath Datta, September 4, 1880, active in nationalist revolutionary movement from the beginning of this century. Editor, *Yugantar* (Bengali weekly), 1906. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment for seditious writing. Left for U.S.A. after release. Studied in Chicago and Brown Universities. Took part in revolutionary activities there. Founded *Friends of the Freedom of India* in U.S.A. After the first world broke out reached Berlin.

General Secretary Berlin Committee. After end of war did doctorate from Hamburg University. Though pro-Marxist did not join Communist Party. Returned to India in 1925, participated in working class and peasant movements. Vice-President AITUC, President Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha and founder President, Friends of the Soviet Union. Died 25 December 1961. Author, *Studies in Indian Social Polity; Dialectics Indian Land Economics; Vivekanand : Patriot and Prophet; Racial Elements in the Population of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, NWFP and Hindu Kush* (translation of his doctorate dissertation in *Man in India*, Ranchi); *Aprakashit Rajnaitik Itihas* (political memoirs in Bengali) etc.

**Page 145**

Fazl-ul Hasan *alias* Hasrat Mohani. Born Mohan (Unao, U.P.) 1883, son of Azhar Husain. B.A. from Aligarh. Celebrated Urdu poet, extremist nationalist leader and journalist. Editor *Urdu-e Muallah*, a literary-political monthly. Devoted follower of B. G. Tilak. Sentenced for sedition to two years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or six months in August 1908. Sentence reduced to one year by Allahabad High Court. In May 1913 his journal ceased publication as security money demanded under the Press Act could not be provided. Mohani was interned in jail during the first world war. In Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress Gandhi moved a resolution that the goal of the INC shall be swaraj. Mohani moved an amendment to the effect that swaraj shall be free from all foreign control. Gandhi opposed him tooth and nail, Mohani's amendment was lost and Gandhi saw to it that he was expelled from the I.N.C. Mohani presided over the All-India Muslim League session at Ahmedabad, December 1921. Prosecuted for two speeches in the INC session and presidential address at the League session. Sentenced two years' rigorous imprisonment for each speech, the sentences to run simultaneously. Bombay High Court too upheld this sentence. After release continued to take active interest in politics and working-class movement. He died in 1950.

**Page 147**

"*The Englishman*". Founded in 1821 in Calcutta under the title "*The John Bull in the East*". On the 1st Oct. 1833, it appeared as "*The Englishman*". From 1860 subtitle slightly changed, "*The English-*"

*man and Military Chronicle.*" From 1861, "*The Englishman*". Colonialist and imperialist. Founded and edited by J. H. Stocqueler. Ceased publication in April 1934.

**Page 149**

Shrish Chandra Chatterji, of Dacca, active in Bengal politics since the anti-Partition agitation, friend of many Bengal revolutionaries, defended them in many cases. Ardent Gandhite, prominent in Non-cooperation movement. Later member of the Swarajya Party. Imprisoned several times, opposed partition of India, remained in East Pakistan, member Pakistan Constituent Assembly, came to India in early sixties. Died on January 3, 1966.

**Page 152**

Sneevliet, Hendricus Sneevliet Maring (1883-1947). Dutch Communist, carried on revolutionary agitation in Java before first World War and instrumental in organising Communist Party of Indonesia 1920, attended Second Congress of C.I., 1920; active in China, 1921; leader of Dutch Transport Workers' Federation and member Profintern's presidium, 1922; C.I. representative in Holland, 1923; later left Party and headed a left-wing socialist group in Holland; murdered by the Nazis during last war.

**Page 154**

Hardayal b. 1884. Son of Gauri Dayal (Kayasth), reader in the District Court of Delhi. He was first of his year in M.A. (English), Lahore University. Selected for State scholarship, tenable for three years, and in 1905 went to Oxford, residing at St. John's College till 1907. When his scholarship had only six months to run, he threw it up as he was unwilling to accept any favour at the hands of the Govt. Returned to Lahore in the beginning of 1908, reacruited some youngmen, met Lajpat Rai. He proposed complete non-cooperation with Govt. which was repudiated by the *Punjabee* (August 5, 1908). Returned to Europe the same year. In 1909 refused to take part in a meeting organised by Indian nationalists only because Anand Kentish Coomaraswamy, whose mother was a foreigner and who himself had married a foreigner lady was to preside, and a beef-eating Indian Muslim was to speak there. (Dharmavira—*Letters of Lala Har Dayal*. Delhi, 1971). In France in 1909-10 helped Madam Cama in editing her *Bande Mutaram*. Visited Algiers in 1910 in search of health. Reached U.S.A. in 1911. Lecturer of Indian Philosophy, Stanford University, March to Sept. 1912 when he resigned his post. Lecture tour of the States. On behalf of the Pacific Coast Hindi [Indian] Association (popularly known as the Ghadar Party) of which he was one of the inspirers, edited the *Ghadar*, a *Punjabee* weekly (Nov. 1913) from Yugantar Ashram, San Francisco. Altogether he worked five and a half months with the Ghadar Party and the *Ghadar*. Arrested on March 26, 1914 for his speeches of the earlier year with a view to deportation. Released on bail, he absconded to Switzerland. Associated with the Berlin Committee of Indian nationalist revolutionaries. In Turkey for some months in connection with revolutionary work. In 1918 Chattopadhyaya was to send him to Socialist Russia to work in its eastern department. In Nov. 1918 Hardayal renounced his faith in revolution and "his conversion to the prin-

ciple of imperial unity with progressive self-government for all civilised nations of the empire." In 1919 in his statement issued from Stockholm he said, "I now believe that the consolidation of the British empire in the East is necessary in the interests of the people of India... in its worst form it is a thousand times preferable to German and Japanese imperialism..."

He wrote an article on the basis of J. Spargo's *Biography of Karl Marx*. He regarded Marx's theory as one-sided and defective, his theory of class struggle and of value not very accurate or convincing, but to him they represented the present practical ideal of the working classes and harmonised with it. (p. 282) Materialist conception of history was a half-truth and found Carlyle's theory of civilization much nearer the truth (283). To him Marx was a benefactor of humanity because he had faith in the working classes. He asked critics of Marx to remember Johnson on Goldsmith—"Let not his faults be remembered. He was a great man." (Karl Marx : A Modern Rishi in *Modern Review*, March 1912, pp. 273-286).

In 1925 in his so-called political testament *Mere Vichar* [My Thoughts] he said that "the State should belong to the Hindus and the Muhammadans may live there. But the State cannot be a Muslim State nor can it be a jointly Hindu-Muslim administered State... To attain Swaraj we [Hindus] do not need the Muslim assistance nor is it our desire to establish a Joint Rule." (Quoted in Rajendra Prasad—*India Divided*. Bombay, 1946, p. 19).

'Hardayal has been described by V. Chattopadhyaya as "a veritable genius during the first half of every hour, and a pretty polly prattling nonsense, a dull-as-ditch-water creature during the second half. When he was inspired Hardayal was a phenomenon of intellectual sparkle and crystalline vision... but gradually even the brilliant first-half brain began to wear out and become ordinary. This slowly led his footsteps away from revolution to reaction which the whole group of his contemporaries resented." (Harindranath Chattopadhyaya—*Life and Myself Vol. I. Dawn approaching the noon*. Bombay, 1948, pp. 198, 200).

Hardayal died in U.S.A. on March 4, 1939.

Among his works are the following :

*Fourty-four months in Germany and Turkey*, London, 1920; *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1932; *Hints for self-culture*, London, 1934; *Twelve religions and modern life*, Edgware, 1938.

Page 156

Shahid Suhrawardy, eldest son of Sir Zahid Suhrawardy, a judge of the Calcutta High Court. Born 1890, educated in Calcutta and Oxford, Bar-at-Law. Went to Russia, joined Moscow Art Theatre and lecturer of English at a Women's College. He had no sympathy for the Communists, but had some relation with the Social Revolutionary Party of Kerensky. Knew several western and oriental languages. Lived in Paris for many years. Returned to India in 1932 as Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts, Calcutta University. Art critic for *The Statesman*. Member Public Service Commission, Bengal, later Chairman Public Service Commission of Pakistan, Visiting Professor, Oriental Art, Columbia University, New York, 1952-54. Appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Spain



and Vatican, and later Morocco and Tunisia. Author, *Essays in Verse Mussulman Art in Spain*; *The Musulman Culture* by V. Barthold (translated by Suhrawardy from Russian). Died March 3, 1965.

**Page 156**

Ivanow, W., a White Russian scholar of Persian and Arabic language and literatures, specialising in Ismailism. Contributed a number of articles to the *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, and also to JRAS (London) catalogue in Asiatic Society, Calcutta. He is dead.

**Page 157**

*Prabha*, a progressive Hindi monthly first issued in January 1920 by Pratap Pustakalaya, Kanpur. Ganeshshankar Vidyarthi and Devadatta Sharma were its editors. In May 1921 editorship taken over by Shrikrishnadatta Paliwal, in August 1923 by Makhanlal Chaturvedi and in November of the same by Balakrishna Sharma. It ceased publication in May 1925.

**Page 158**

*Maryada*, a progressive Hindi monthly first published from Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad. After December 1920 it was published from Jnanmandal, Benares under the editorship of Sampurnanand. It seems to have ceased publication after March 1921. These two monthlies published many bold editorials and articles praising the achievements of the Bolsheviks and the relevance of their revolution to India.

**Page 164**

Quelch, Tom—attended Second Congress of C.I. as delegate of BSP

**Page 166**

Smedley, Agnes, *alias* Alice Bird *alias* Mrs. Petroikos, daughter of an U.S. worker. Secretary of Lajpat Rai. Closely associated with the Friends of Freedom of India. Wife of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya in Berlin. Member of the Hindustan Association of Berlin and the Berlin Committee of Indian revolutionaries. Since late twenties worked with the Chinese Peoples Army.

Smedley wanted to come to India but not given visa for her imprisonment in US for exiled Indians, for her articles in the Indian Press.

- (1) *Battle Hymn of China* (1944).
- (2) *China fights back*. An Am. Woman with the Eighth Route Army 1938.
- (3) *China's Red Army marches* (Tales) 1934.
- (4) *Chinese Destinies*. Sketches of present-day China 1934.
- (5) *India and the Next War* 1928 (Amritsar)
- (6) *Stories of the Wounded*. An appeal for orthopaedic centres of the Chinese Red Cross 1941.
- (7) *Daughter of Earth*.

Member of the delegation of nationalist revolutionaries to Moscow in 1921 on the invitation of C.I.

Held in high respect in India and China. She wrote a biography of Chu Teh. Died at Oxford 1950.

**Page 169**

Ghulam Ambiya Khan Lohani, of Sirajganj, Dist. Pabna (East Bengal). Went to London in 1914 to study law and to Paris in 1920-21. Visited Berlin in January 1921 and worked with nationalist revolutionaries there. Was on their delegation to Moscow on invitation from C.I.

Opposed emigre Communist Party of India. Later worked with C.I. and contributed to *The Masses of India* and other publications. Settled down in Moscow in 1925. He is dead.

**Page 169**

Pandurang Sadashiv Khankhoje, of Wardha city, Maharashtra. As a student in Carvallis (Oregon) and Pullman (Washington) was in close touch with Indian revolutionaries on the Pacific Coast. Lived for a time at Idaho with Kashi Ram who was afterwards sentenced to death in the Ferozeshahr murder case. Left for Europe in 1914. Worked with the nationalist revolutionaries there. On the delegation of nationalist revolutionaries to Moscow on invitation of C.I. Afterwards a high official in the Agriculture Department of Mexico. Returned to India after 1950 with his family. He contributed some articles to the Hindi monthly *Saraswati* (Allahabad) in the first and second decades of this century. Died Jan. 22, 1967.

**Page 171**

Karakan, Lev Mikhailovich (1889-1937), Veteran Bolshevik. Secretary Soviet delegation to Brest-Litvsk Peace talks 1918; member Collegium of Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Ambassador to Poland 1921, to China 1923-26, to Turkey 1939-37. Purged.

**Page 171**

Kopp, Victor, a former Menshevik, in November 1919 sent to Berlin as a Soviet Plenipotentiary for prisoner of war affairs. Tried to have the possibility of German technological aid to Russia.

**Page 201**

Thalhaimer, A. Founder member German Communist Party. (Delegate C.I. Congress). Right-wing factionalist. Member CPSU. Dropped from leadership in 1927 and expelled in 1928. M. N. Roy joined Thalhaimer-Brandler faction in 1928.

**Page 201**

Heckert, F. (1884-1936)—Leader of the German Communist Party and Comintern. One of the founders of the Spartacus League and German Communist Party. Delegate to Third and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern.

**Page 215**

Viscount Peel, William Robert Wellesley (1867-1937). Secretary of State for India, 1922-24 and 1928-29.

**Page 226**

Ranchhoddas Bhavan Lotvala, 1875 ?, son of a small businessman of Bombay. Arya Samajist, newspaper owner, later admirer of Gandhi, soon left him. Studied some Marxism. Attracted towards Dange after reading his *Gandhi vs. Lenin*. For many years financed Dange in publishing his *Socialist* and a few other Marxist pamphlets. Later Lotvala became a armchair Trotskite.

Lotvala went to U.S.A. in 1920. In December 1922 he started the Lotvala Trust whose object was to advance socialism in India. Went to England in 1923 and mixed with left-wing Labourites. Again visited England in February 1927. He was a patron of Dange in his early career. He died after 1968.

**Page 231**

Ferozuddin Mansur, of Sheikhupura, Punjab. Left India during the

Hijrat movement in the spring of 1920. Trained in Tashkent and Moscow. Arrested while returning to India via Chitral, tried under Section 121-A, IPC, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in the Moscow Conspiracy case at Peshawar in May, 1923. Released in April 1924. Worked in the *Indian National Herald* of Bombay. Remained a sincere worker of the C.P.I. in Punjab. He is dead.

**Page 231**

Mir Abdul Majid *alias* M. A. Majid, Dhal Mahalla, Mochi Darwaja, Lahore. Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in 1920. Trained in Tashkent and then at Moscow. While returning to India via Chitral was arrested and tried under Section 121-A, IPC, at Peshawar and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in May 1923, released in April 1924. One of the leading organisers of the Punjab Labour Board formed in March 1925 with the object of coordinating all forms of Labour in the Province. One of the organisers of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha (Young India Association) formed in spring of 1926. Prosecuted in the Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929-1933). A very sincere worker for the cause of Communism. He is no longer active. Now lives in Lahore.

**Page 231**

Abdulla Safdar, of Punjab. Trained in Institute of Red Professors, Moscow. One of the disciples of Roy. Visited Russia more than once. Worked for Roy's party in Punjab before and during the second World War. Contributed several articles to the *Modern Review*. He is dead.

**Page 232**

Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, born October 1903, Daryapur, Aligarh District (U.P.), participated in Non-cooperation movement, met Muzaffar Ahmad at Calcutta in 1923. Passed M.A. from Aligarh (1926), embraced Communism in Great Britain (1927), Ph.D. (London), 1932, member AICC, member Central Committee, CPI, imprisoned many times, lecturer in History, Kirorimal College, Delhi. Author, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (1200-1550 A.D.)—(Mainly based on Islamic Sources), Calcutta, 1935. Died at Berlin on June 7, 1962.

**Page 233**

Inkpin, Albert (1884-1944)—Assistant Secretary SDF and BSP, 1907-13; General Secretary BSP 1913-1920; General Secretary CPGB 1920-29. He is dead.

**Page 268**

Fazl-Ilahi Qurban, born August 1902 in Lahore. *Muhajir* 1920, military training in Tashkent school. Lived in Moscow for four years, returned to India 1926, arrested April 1927 in Bombay, sentenced to three years' at Peshawar. Released November 14, 1929, worked for the defense of accused in the Meerut Case. Arrested 1930 under Regulation III of 1818, released 1934. Detained in 1936, released 1937, arrested 1940, released 1942, Presided AITUC Madras session (1945). After partition lives in Western Pakistan, no longer active in the Communist movement.

**Page 270**

Safarov, Georgii Ivanovich (1891-1938?). Bolshevik from 1908; arrested and exiled 1910; emigrated on release and returned to Russia

with Lenin, 1917; fought in the Civil War; in charge of C.I. Eastern Department 1921-22; editor *Petrogradskaia* (later *Leningradskaia*) *Pravda*, 1922-26; secretary Soviet embassy in China, opposed party line and was purged. Author, *Problemy Vostoka*, (The Problems of the East) 1922; *Osnovy Leninizma* (The Bases of Leninism), 2nd ed. 1922; *Marx and the East*, 1934; contributed many articles to *Pravda*, *Kommunist*, *Izvestia*, *Zhizn Natsionalnostie*, etc.

**Page 280**

Joseph Baptista, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the first Congress, and President of the second session of the AITUC at Jharia. Influenced by the ILP of Great Britain and sought to introduce Fabian Socialism in India. In his Presidential address said, "the political policy of the Congress [AITUC] must steer clear of the extreme individualism and Bolshevism and follow the golden path of Fabian Socialism". In his address as Chairman of the Reception of the First Congress he said, "the supreme need of the moment is really for some light from the East to illumine the darkness of the West; for the humanising spiritualism of the East to chasten the brutalising materialism of the West". He was a *chela* of Annie Besant.

**Page 280**

Wedgwood, Josiah Clement, Baron Barlaston and Etruria (created 1942), born March 16, 1872. Commander RNAS. Colonel, M.P. (Labour, previously Liberal) Newcastle under-Lyme; Vice-Chairman Labour Party 1921-24. Author, *Indo-British Commonwealth*, 1922; *Essays and Adventures of a Labour M.P.*, 1924; *Memoires of a Fighting Life*, 1940. etc.

**Page 283**

Bamanji Pestonji Wadia, of Bombay, one of the founders and leaders of AITUC. Connected with many trade unions in Madras. Theosophist and follower of Annie Besant. wanted to organise Indian workers on the line of British Labour Party and at the same time, wanted them to look at problems from a "spiritualistic point of view." (Speech to Serampur workers, July 13, 1918). Arrested in 1918, British Labour Party secured his release by taking up his case with the Secretary of State for India. Met Saklatvala in England (1920) and promised to act in concert with Workers' Welfare League of London. Author; *How India can save the Empire* (Collection of speeches of members of Indian Deputation), 1918; (2) *Problems of National and International Politics*, 1919; (3) *Labour in Madras*, 1921; (4) *Will the soul of Europe return?* 1921; (5) *To All Fellow Theosophists and members of the Theosophical Society*, a statement, 1922; (6) *The Inner Ruler* (Talks to students), 1922; (7) *Thus have I heard* (Leading articles from "The Arya, Path"), 1959 etc.

**Page 283**

Chakkarai Chettiar, remained devoted to the cause of Indian Working class throughout his life. Later president of the A.I.T.U.C. for several years. He is dead.

**Page 292**

Pitambardatta Badathwal (1901—July 24, 1944), of Pali near Lansdowne, Garhwal. Passed Intermediate examination in arts from D.A.V.

College, Kanpur in 1920. Edited *Hillman*, organ of Pahari students. B.A. 1926, M.A. 1928. Lecturer in Hindi Banaras Hindu University. Earned doctorate for his thesis entitled *The Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*.

**Page 292**

Manoranjan Gupta, born March 1890, Adhuna, Bakerganj District (Bengal), member Yugantar Party, suffered imprisonment many times, founded a press and a publishing house. Had no sympathy for the communists or communism. Member Bengal Assembly of undivided Bengal and of Legislative Council on Congress ticket. Author of several books in Bengali on politics, etc. He is still living.

**Page 299**

Pratul Chandra Ganguly, born 1891, Srinagar, Dacca District. Member Anusilan Samiti and absconder in Barisal Conspiracy Case (May 1913). Arrested September 1914, and sentenced in November, 1915, to ten years' transportation in the supplementary case, but acquitted by the High Court, Calcutta. Continued to be active in nationalist revolutionary and Congress movements. Elected to Central Legislative Assembly and Bengal Assembly. Detained during Second World War. Died July 5, 1957. Wrote Viplabir Jivanadarsham (a series of articles on ideals of revolutionaries) in *Prabasi* (Bengali monthly), Calcutta.

**Page 321**

Wahabi—Puritanical reform movement in Islam,—begun by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab (1703-1787). Rejects veneration of saints, ostentatious rites, luxurious living. Triumphed in Saudi Arabia and official religion there. Introduced in India by Saiyid Ahmad of Bareilly (U.P.) after his visit to Mecca, 1822-23. Ahmad raised an army against the Sikh rulers. In the first half of the last century Wahabis were a formidable anti-colonialist force. They espoused the cause of the peasants in certain parts of Bengal. Wahabis had their colony at Chamar-kand in independent tribal territory of N.W.F.P.

**Page 330**

(The) *Modern Review*, a monthly review and miscellany published from Calcutta since 1907. It rendered good service to the cause of Indian independence struggle and in the propagation of advanced ideas. It is still in circulation.

**Page 330**

*Hindustan Review* first published from Allahabad in 1897. Later shifted to Patna. Sachchidanand Sinha, its editor, published B. N. Dutta's article. After his return to India in 1925, Dutta contributed several articles to this journal.

**Page 331**

Abdul Hafiz, Dr. Son of M. Ilahi Bux, pleader Lahore. Went to England in 1904, where he later became friendly with Har Dayal and other nationalist revolutionaries of the India House. Returned to India in 1909 but went back to England the following year.

**Page 331**

Chandra Kanta Chakravarty, born 1878, Goila, Bakerganj (Bengal). Chakravarty had close connection with the accused in the Alipur Bomb Case. Warrant issued for arrest in that case under Section 121 and 124-A, I.P.C., but he could not be found, said to have worked with

Ajit Singh in Punjab. Sailed for Paris under the pseudonym Behari Lal, son of Bishen Das of Lahore. Arrived there in early February 1909. Arrived New York in the next month after living a few weeks in India House, London. Joined Vedanta Society, and adopted the name Satyanand Brahmachari. Later took part in the so-called German plot and was arrested in connexion with the San Francisco Conspiracy Case on March 6, 1917. Made damaging confession in the early part of the trial. On April 30, 1918 Federal Judge Van Fleet sentenced him to 30 days in Alameda County jail and a fine of \$5,000. Later returned to India in 1926, lived an affluent life and wrote many books in English on cultural history, ethnology, sexology etc. which are not of much scientific value. Wrote his autobiography entitled *New India* (Calcutta, n.d.). Chakravarty died on May 14, 1971.

**Page 331**

Mahendra Pratap, third son of Raja Ghansham Singh, of Murshah, Dist. Aligarh (U.P.). Born Dec. 1, 1886. Educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, the founder of this institution was his father's friend. Married the daughter of the ruler Jhind, a princely state in Punjab. Attended INC session at Calcutta (1906). Travelled round the world in 1907. Started Prem Mahavidyalaya, a polytechnic at Vrindaban in 1909. In 1911 again went abroad, 1914 again went abroad, met Kaiser Wilhem, the German Emperor in 1915. Set up Provisional Govt. of India at Kabul Dec. 1, 1915 with himself as "life president," Barakatullah as Prime Minister and Ubeidullah as Home Minister. Along with a few other Indians met Lenin in 1919. Roamed in many countries and reached U.S.A. in 1925 from where travelled to the Far East. Author, *My Life Story of Fifty-five Years*, Dehra Dun, 1947.

**Page 332**

*Forward*, Calcutta daily, founded by C. R. Das in 1923. It had also a weekly edition.

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